

# IN THESE TIMES



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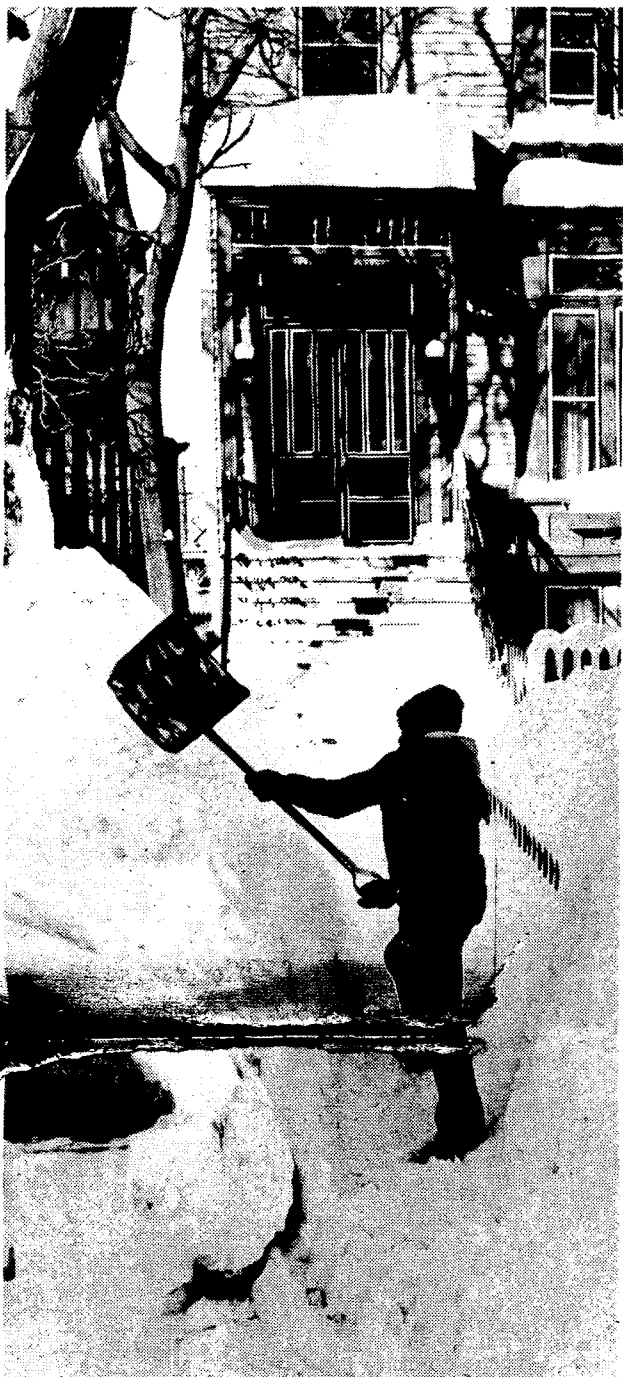
*Young tobacco workers*

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# THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS



Ken Firestone

## The snow must go on

The "little ice age" cometh

Midwesterners are now enduring the third in a row record-breaking winter. This winter has already included the coldest day (-19 degrees F.) and the deepest ground snow (29 inches) since the 19th century. It is a sure bet to break 1977's record.

In fall 1976, the first of these devastating winters, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) released two studies it had made of the already unusual weather pattern of the '70s. Their chilling conclusion: the Earth—and particularly the Northern Hemisphere—is in the midst of a cooling trend that will drastically affect the world's population, agriculture, industry, and politics.

"In a cooler and therefore hungrier world," one study concludes, "the U.S.'s near-monopoly position as a food exporter could have an enormous, though not easily definable impact on international relations. It could give the U.S. a measure of power it has never had before."

### Droughts, floods, and ice.

The CIA studies synthesize several breakthroughs in climatological research that occurred in the '60s and '70s. Prior to then, most climatologists were concerned with average climatic differences and not with historical change; they assumed that the industrial revolution had irrevocably altered climatic history, thrusting into

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the far future any new climatic threats.

But in the late '60s and early '70s, strange weather patterns began to shake the climatologists out of their complacency. Drought and famine hit sub-Saharan Africa; Eastern Canada had below-normal temperatures for a record 19 straight months; severe floods and then drought visited the American Midwest; delayed rains and a sharp freeze destroyed the Soviet wheat crop; and frost decimated the Brazilian coffee crop.

The climatologists discovered that beneath these outward signs lay evidence of a deeper change:

- From 1945 to 1975, the annual mean temperature of the Earth had declined .5 degree C. (.9 degrees F.). In the northern hemisphere, where most people and industry are located, annual temperatures had dropped .7 degrees C. It takes a 4 degrees C. drop to create a new Ice Age.)

- Since 1970, the extent to which snow and ice covered the globe each year had increased by 12 percent.

- The average winter, which lasted 84 days in 1967, was lasting 106 days by 1973.

Climatologists link this general cooling trend with the unusual weather patterns. Our weather, they say, is shaped by cold winds blowing southwest from the North Pole and tropical winds blowing north from the equator (*vice versa* for the Southern Hemisphere). Over the last 30 years, the swirl of cold westerlies has gradually shifted southward, pushing southward the tropical winds. As a result, climatic regions have tended to shift southward: Chicago now has the same weather Green Bay, Wisc., used to have; New York has Boston's old weather. The sub-Saharan regions have the same lack of rain as the Saharan regions.

In addition, there is another effect of the polar westerlies moving south. As they move south, say the climatologists, their total movement around the globe becomes more sluggish, so that individual weather-systems tend to become locked into areas: there is not just cold, rain, heat, or snow; there are cold spells, heat spells, droughts, and blizzards.

### Great-grandfather's weather.

Climatologists generally trace this cooling trend to a decline in the intensity with which the sun's rays have been hitting the planet. Two Czech scientists measured a 5 percent decrease in direct sunlight between 1950 and 1972. But they don't agree about why less sunlight is hitting the planet or what this means for the Earth's future.

The CIA studies rely on the findings of Dr. Reid Bryson and his colleagues at the University of Wisconsin's Institute for Environmental Studies, who was the first to predict the new change in climate.

The CIA calls their work "the focal point of climatological research in the U.S."

Bryson does not believe we are witnessing the beginning of a new Ice Age, but an "interglacial" period that will probably last another 2500 years. However, within the last 1600 years of our interglacial period, Bryson and his colleagues trace 12 major shifts in climate from warmer to colder. The subsequent cold or warm periods tended to last at least 70 years.

The studies follow Bryson in dividing the recent past into a "little ice age" that commenced in the 1600s (other climatologists say the 1400s) and lasted until the 1850s, which was followed by an unusually warm period that lasted until the 1940s. During this warm period, the planet's population increased from one to three billion, and its industrial and agricultural capacity skyrocketed. Bryson thinks we are now headed back into the conditions of the "little ice age."

"You are simply having the weather your great-grandfather would have had if he was around the Midwest in the 19th century," Bryson told me last week.

Bryson thinks that the main factor in interglacial changes of climate has been the increase or decrease in volcanic dust. This dust, which erupting volcanoes send into the atmosphere, blocks the sun's light and contributes to a cooling trend. Bryson correlates different levels of volcanic activity with different climatic periods. The little ice age saw intense activity; the early 20th century saw a remarkable lull, which was only broken in the 1950s.

(Other climatologists have speculated that volcanic activity is related in turn to sunspot behavior and changes in the earth's electromagnetic field.)

But Bryson notes that the present cooling began in the 1940s, before volcanic activity had recommenced. The reason for this, he says, is that the 20th century added a new element to the weather machine: industrial and agricultural pollution. Dust from soil erosion and industrial pollution have the same effect in the atmosphere as volcanic dust. This dust caused the early return to the little ice age.

Bryson also notes the effect on the weather of high levels of carbon dioxide, released when fossil fuels are burned. Carbon dioxide acts in the atmosphere like the glass-walls of a greenhouse, allowing the sun to come in, but preventing infrared rays from being reflected back out of the earth's atmosphere. Its increase in the atmosphere would lead to a warming rather than a cooling.

Bryson and other climatologists think, however, that the carbon dioxide and the pollutants have had complementary effects. Pollutants tend to stay in the atmosphere where they were produced—usually in the mid-latitudes of the Northern Hemisphere, while carbon dioxide tends to spread itself equally in the atmosphere. (Some climatologists believe it moves toward the equator.)

As a result, the carbon dioxide has had a warming effect on the equator, and parts of the Southern Hemisphere, while the dust, along with its volcanic counterparts, has cooled the Northern Hemisphere. This differential effect, along with the tendency of the westerlies to hold weather systems in place, could explain why the same region can have unusually cold winters and unusually warm summers.

### Extraordinary influence.

Bryson and the CIA draw ominous conclusions about the effect of this new little ice age on the world's food production. If the cooling continues, Western Europe's food production could drop 25 to 30 percent, Canada's could drop 50 percent, China would have famines every five years, India could not feed 25 percent of its population, and the Soviet Union would have to abandon large areas of grain production.

The Wisconsin climatologists argue that Europe, with a mean temperature of 12 degrees C., feeds three persons for each arable hectare. If the temperature were to decline one degree C., only two persons could be fed. In China, each arable hectare feeds seven persons; a one degree drop would mean only four persons could be fed—in other words, only 57 percent of the present population.

The U.S. and Argentina are the only grain-producing countries that would not be done in by the cooling trend. In the U.S., the study says, production could simply be moved south.

While sounding the alarms for humanity, the CIA cannot keep from licking its chops at the prospect of American surpluses in a hungry world.

"In bad years, when the U.S. could not meet the demand for food of most would-be importers, Washington would acquire life and death power over the fate of multitudes of the needy. Without indulging in blackmail in any sense, the U.S. would gain extraordinary political and economic influence."

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## IN THESE TIMES

## INTERVIEW

# Khomeini gives his current views on homeland

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

Press reports indicate that Ayatollah Ruhallah Khomeini, Iranian Moslem leader living in Paris, is a "clerical fascist" who opposes women entering government, would "cut off the hand of his own son if he steals," and would make those not in the good graces of the Muslim divines into second-class citizens.

In an interview with Khomeini, IN THESE TIMES' Paris correspondent, Diana Johnstone, raised some of these questions on the eve of the Shah's departure from Iran.

**Do you think President Carter was hypocritical or misinformed when he praised the Shah's concern for human rights?**

If we analyze what Mr. Carter has said, we realize that he has been aware of all the crimes that the Shah has been committing and he has been aware of the demands of the Iranian people. He also has been aware of the Shah's massacre of the Iranian people. What has caused him to go on supporting the Shah is that he realizes that his interests are guaranteed for plundering the Iranian national resources by keeping the Shah. And I believe he could not find anyone better than the Shah to do this mission for him among the Iranian people.

**What, in your view, would be a correct use of Iran's petroleum resources?**

First, we would use the oil for our domestic needs, that is, for our domestic industries. And also, we would sell the oil at a proper price to those who want it, but we would spend the money to rebuild the country, for rebuilding agriculture and



for other social services in Iran. We would never spend that money for weapons and for foreigners to build bases in Iran, to destroy agriculture as the Shah has been doing, selling the oil at the cheapest price. And we would not put that money in foreign banks, in the accounts of a few people.

**In the Islamic republic you advocate, would all political parties, including those which are non- or anti-religious, such as the Communist party, be free to take part in elections and express their views?**

Everyone under an Islamic government would be free to express his own ideas and to decide his own destiny. Yet principally, it is not acceptable for a nation that has given that much blood of its youth and their children to establish an Islamic government for some people, then to come and build the nation according to their

wishes, that is, destroying the results of what the people have been doing. Everyone is free to express his own ideas, but as for treason, the answer is no.

**How could the Shiite clergy supervise the exercise of power in an Islamic republic without being corrupted by it?**

First of all, the theory that one person should have power, whether it be a religious leader or any other person, and run the affairs of a nation without referring to the public opinion of the people, is against Islam. And it's not accepted. But, in an Islamic republic, the supervision of affairs, to protect against any deviation from Islamic criteria and principles, rests with a group of Islamic scholars who know Islam very well and are righteous and pious and acceptable to the majority of the people.

**What would be your personal role in an Islamic republic?**

All the Islamic scholars, including me, would have the responsibility of guiding the people, and reminding them and protecting them from the hazards and deviations that might happen. They would not for one moment neglect protection of the people as a whole.

**I have read that Moslem leaders would like to abolish interest rates, because Islam prohibits usury. Is this correct?**

In Islam, receiving interest or paying interest is one of the great sins. In the holy Koran, such interest is strongly prohibited, and by no means is taking interest allowed. In Islam, instead of loans taking interest, we would have what we call *karzol hasane*, loans without interest, meant to help people.

**The Shah's regime has claimed to promote the advancement of women in Iranian society. What do you think of this claim, and in what specific ways would an Islamic republic differ from the Shah in its policy towards women?**

Do you think that today all the Iranian women, from the housewives to the women who work in public offices and those who are working in the universities and those who are students, are shouting and crying out against the Shah and demonstrating in the streets because the Shah has given them the opportunity, like Mr. Carter would say, or do you think that

they very well understand that the Shah in this respect, as in all others, has been very hypocritical, and his purpose in all this is to bring down the personality of Iranian women so he can shape Iranian society the way he wants to, meaning to have it under his domination, and bring Iranian women's activities under his control? What we would do is let the Iranian woman do what she wants to. And this is in fact a right that Islam has given to woman. And Islam is a very strong defender of women's rights and against ideas that make woman like an object. Islam opposes that. In Islamic thought, woman, just like man, is free, and benefits from all the appropriate rights that society can provide for him or her. We will not let the Iranian woman be deceived and be put in a lower position in a society which has been designed by the Shah.

**Do you believe that Iran should maintain the huge arms contracts with the U.S. and other western countries for ultramodern military equipment? Do you think such purchases are necessary?**

The answer is no, never. And the reason is because these weapons and armaments are not actually for the Iranian people. Those armaments are in fact the bases for foreign powers in Iran. All the Iranian people get out of it is the huge expense.

**Nicaragua has provided the example of a whole population rising up against a dictator, yet failing to get rid of him simply because he is protected by his army. In the same way, is not the real problem in Iran the army? What solution do you see to this problem?**

History has proved that the will of a people is superior to military weapons, provided that the nation is united and believes in its own struggle and depends on God's power, and also is patient and not afraid of being killed. In this case, no power can defeat such a nation.

**Everywhere in the world, industrialization has entailed grave social upheavals and injustices. Do you think that even a government faithful to the moral principles of Islam could avoid the social evils brought about by economic changes in the world?**

The answer is yes. If a nation is deter-

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## POLITICS

By Jo Freeman

WASHINGTON

## Carter can't take heat from Bella

**W**HEN PRESIDENT CARTER fired Bella Abzug Jan. 12 from her non-paying job as co-chair of the National Advisory Committee for Women, shortly after meeting with representatives of the committee, he demonstrated once again his extreme sensitivity to criticism and his insensitivity to the scope of women's concerns.

The immediate precipitant of Abzug's dismissal was a four-page press release, never given to the press, warning that "the administration's anti-inflation program will impose additional burdens upon women in increased unemployment, cutbacks in social programs, postponement of national health insurance, and deferred action on programs addressing poverty and assistance to the cities, where the majority of women live."

The release, written two days before

Continued on page 2.

Loren Delong



## IN THE NATION

## BROWN MOVES RIGHT

## Gov. chases Carter with a meat ax

By Larry Remer

SACRAMENTO, CALIF.

**J**ERRY BROWN ALL BUT FORMALLY announced his presidential candidacy for 1980 as he delivered his second-term inauguration message to the people of California, and unveiled his "New Spirit" state budget.

Brown affirmed his posture as the nation's leading born-again tax-cutter, having come half-circle from his strong opposition last year to California's property tax relief initiative, Prop. 13. Brown proffered a lean state budget for fiscal 1979-80.

"It is time to get off the treadmill, to challenge the assumption that more government spending automatically leads to better living," Brown told a statewide television audience. "The facts prove otherwise."

In remarks obviously calculated to make front-page news across the country, Brown declared his support for a Constitutional amendment to force the federal government to balance its budget, using a Constitutional convention, if necessary, to get the measure adopted.

At \$20.3 billion, Brown's state budget posits a spending rise of only 3.6 percent from this year's \$19.6 billion, and increase the Governor joyfully boasted was "well below the expected rate of inflation."

## Little good news.

For state employees and recipients of state-mandated public assistance programs, Brown's budget had little good news. The major proposals included:

- Elimination of more than 5000 state jobs and resultant cutbacks in services;

- Cuts in the real wages of 200,000 state employees, for whom Brown has set aside money for a 7 percent pay hike (the actual amount to be negotiated later). Last year, after the passage of Prop. 13, all public employees in California went without raises, leaving them at the point

where 15 percent raises are necessary to keep up with inflation;

- Similar cuts in payments for public assistance to the blind, elderly and poor mothers with children. State law mandates eight categories be upwardly adjusted every legislative session to keep up with inflation. Brown would change that statute and limit payment increases to 6 percent, giving \$304 monthly for aid to families with dependent children (as opposed to \$332); \$326 for seniors and the disabled (as opposed to \$354); and \$364 for the blind (as opposed to \$399).

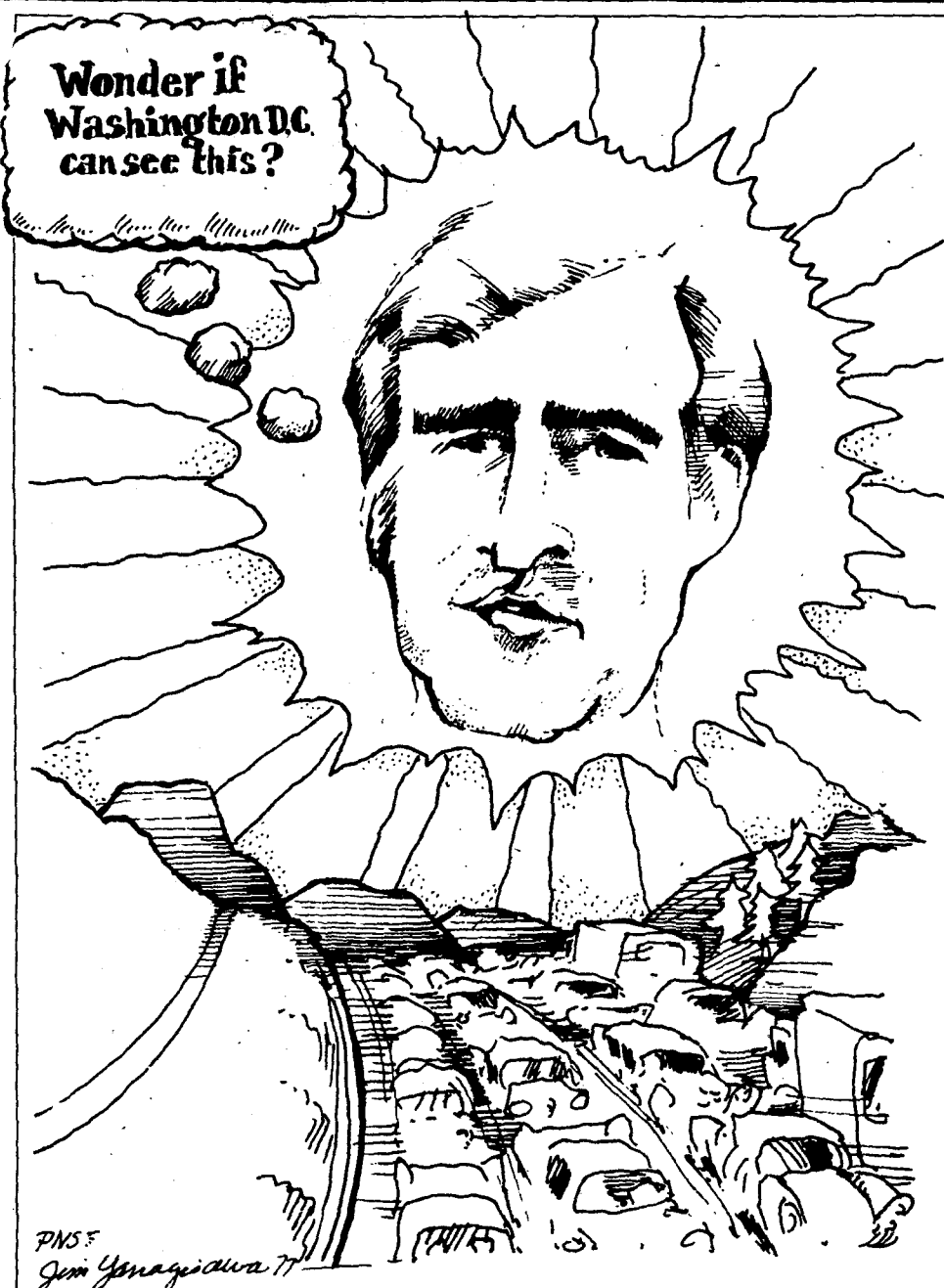
Hoping to tap the same nation-wide tax rebel spirit that turned California politics upside down last spring, Brown is clearly positioning himself to the right of both Jimmy Carter and Ted Kennedy on fiscal issues. The first presidential primary—in New Hampshire—is less than 14 months away, and for Brown to make a serious run he will have to delineate clearly a set of policies that are his own.

This round of fiscal conservatism by Brown differs markedly from his first stint after his inaugural four years ago. That time, in a series of well-publicized moves, he shunned the Governor's limousine for a more moderate Plymouth, and he refused to take up residence in an opulent governor's mansion built by his predecessor Ronald Reagan. But then, Brown was concerned with cutting waste. In 1979, he is cutting generous amounts of lean along with the fat.

Brown's new tack threatens to plunge California into political chaos. Those most upset by his inaugural message and his new budget are the supposed mainstays of his constituency: labor and liberal Democrats.

## Pandora's box.

State Assembly speaker Leo McCarthy, a liberal who fancies himself a candidate to succeed Brown in 1982, has announced he will lead the legislative battle to keep public assistance hikes in line with inflation. Other liberals immediately assailed Brown's call for a Constitu-



tional convention as "asinine and dangerous." Noted one staunch Brown supporter who heads an ACLU chapter in Southern California, "You get a convention together and the first thing you know they'll want to change the first amendment. And then the 14th. Why, we could end up with slavery again! Jerry just doesn't know the Pandora's box he has opened."

As for labor, the reception to Brown's proposals were chilly. William A. Craib, president of the California State Employees' Association, representing 80,000 state workers, threatened slowdowns and work stoppages if his union did not win salary hikes that kept pace with the cost of living. State AFL-CIO chief John Henning branded Brown's new direction "warmed

over Herbert Hoover."

But Brown did find rousing support from some quarters—mostly Republicans. "If I had closed my eyes I would have sworn it was Ronald Reagan," declared Assembly Minority Leader Paul Priolo (R-Malibu). Added State Senate Republican Leader William Campbell (R-Hacienda Heights), "He's the one who called Prop. 13 a can of worms. That can is now a gourmet meal. Gov. Brown just became a Republican without telling anybody."

Even so, no serious challenge to Gov. Brown's political power in California is on the horizon. Sitting comfortably atop a 1.3 million vote victory margin, Brown believes with some certainty that Californians will support his efforts to scale down the cost of government.

## False economies?

Brown's projections hinge on an analysis pushing salaried workers into higher tax brackets and an influx of 250,000 people annually. California will still be able to boast a \$3 billion budget surplus in the next fiscal year, \$1 billion of which Brown has promised to return to taxpayers as a cut.

But if the stiff recession projected for next year deepens into a depression, the call for government services in California will increase while the size of the tax roll diminishes. California's growth industries—housing, defense and aerospace—are already feeling a pinch from Carter's economic program. All Brown's bets will be off if his formulations for state revenues and expenditures suddenly don't mesh with social needs or political demands.

Will he really be able to reconcile tax rebel conservatives with anti-nuclear activists? Who knows? The voters bought his flip-flop on Prop. 13. If the mood of the electorate shifts again, Brown can be adaptable.

Meanwhile, Sacramento political pundits shudder about the interim. "The budget," declared liberal Assemblyman Bruce Young (D-Cerritos), "should have a title page that says, 'Walt Disney presents.' Brown's budget is merely presidential gamesmanship that may play well in New Hampshire and Florida, but that we've got to live with in California." ■

## LABOR

## Oil companies help Carter on wage lid

By David Moberg

**W**ITH THE SIGNING OF A moderate two-year contract as a pattern for the oil refinery workers, President Carter scored an initial victory for his wage guidelines. The major union contract tests are still to come, but the oil settlement suggests that corporations will be willing enforcers of wage limits, especially when they have solid government backing.

"The workers are the losers," OCAW spokesman Jerry Archuleta said, "because of the unfairness of the Carter guidelines and the willingness of the oil companies to cooperate in their own interests."

On other fronts, Carter's anti-inflation plan looked less formidable. Even before his wage-insurance proposal was formally unveiled last week, congressional opponents were planning its funeral. The Council on Wage and Price Stability (CWPS) was also still juggling wobbly regulations to find the proper balance between being sufficiently hard-nosed to keep down workers' wage demands and being suffi-



ciently flexible to give the guidelines some bounce if persistent unions run up against them.

In other labor negotiations, the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks sent a contract to its 135,000 members last week that will bring them a 36 percent pay increase over 39 months, but the union expects that it will be exempted from the guidelines. The contract follows, but exceeds slightly, the pattern set by the 11 (out of 13) railway unions that have already settled. The union argues that its negotiations, which started in mid-1977, should be exempted from the guidelines under the clause that permits "tandem" agreements to exceed the 7 percent pay limit.

The Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) pattern settlement with Gulf, reached on Jan. 11, provides refinery workers with 73 cents more per hour for the first year of the contract. In the second year, workers will be guaranteed a 5 percent increase, but they also have a clause that permits reopening of the contract for discussion of wages, health-care benefits and vacations after one year.

## Up against business and feds.

Since the average wage at Gulf is \$8.93 an hour and the average for the industry is \$8.82, the first year pay increase amounts to 8 percent. But one Amoco executive told the *New York Times* that if all labor costs were taken into account in the base, the pay increase was really closer to 7 percent. The union resisted industry efforts to freeze entry-level wages for newly hired workers, but local unions—which are now negotiating with their 411 separate agreements according to the basic pattern—have the option of freezing entry level pay and fattening the paychecks of senior employees.

Although the union had hoped to force

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By Trin Yarborough  
and Max Weisenfeld

WASHINGTON

**P**ROFESSIONAL KILLER MICHAEL Vernon Townley remained impassive in the witness stand as his Cuban exile confederates in the car bomb murder of Orlando Letelier and Ronni Karpen Moffitt hurled epithets at him for having confessed.

"Traitor," "whore," "shithead" were among the names tossed in Spanish by Townley's co-defendants in the murder trial that opened in U.S. District Court here last week amid great security precautions and anger on both sides. The wife of one of the co-defendants was heard to say, "Cut out his tongue."

The courtroom is crowded. Bomb squad dogs have checked the entire courthouse. Persons attending the trial must pass through two thorough checks by metal detectors and be searched by U.S. marshals before being allowed into the courtroom. Both the judge and prosecutor have received anonymous threats.

Over 150 journalists from all over the world have applied to cover the trial, but only 40 have been granted passes. The spectators are a mixture of relatives and supporters of the Cuban exiles and co-workers and friends of Letelier and Moffitt from the Institute for Policy Studies where both worked.

On trial are Cuban Nationalist Movement leader, Cuban exile Guillermo Novo, his brother, Ignacio, and another Cuban exile, Alvin Ross. Virgil Paz and Dionisio Suarez, two other Cuban exiles charged with the murders, are still at large, and three top DINA officials, also charged, are awaiting the outcome of secret extradition proceedings in Chile.

#### Townley testifies.

Townley testified Thursday that he was ordered by high officials in the Chilean secret police, DINA, to kill Chilean exile leader Letelier with the help of members of the CNM. He described in minute detail the planning and execution of the murder.

Federal prosecutors said they will prove that the Chilean secret police not only arranged the murder of Letelier but also ordered the murder of exile leader Carlos Altamirano.

In opening statements to an all-black jury of seven women and five men, the prosecutors claimed that DINA sent one of its agents, Townley, to recruit help for the Altamirano slaying from members of the U.S.-based CNM.

Defense attorneys for three Cubans now on trial referred to the bombing in their opening remarks as "monstrous, horrible...committed by the most evil people."

"But neither the DINA nor the Cuban Nationalist Movement had anything to do with it," said defense attorney Paul Goldberger. "This crime was committed by a hired killer, Michael Vernon Townley, who was the agent of the American CIA."

The CIA has filed affidavits stating that Townley contacted them in Miami three times, but apparently nothing ever came of it. Townley denied ever having worked—having taken money or assignments—for the CIA. Sources at the Institute for Policy Studies repeated their belief that the Chilean government ordered the murders.

#### Links to other crimes.

Chief prosecutor, Assistant U.S. District Attorney Eugene Propper, told the jury that the link between DINA and the Cuban exile terrorist movement could be found in other crimes, including the assassination plan for Altamirano.

He said that Townley had been sent by DINA in 1975 to meet with CNM leaders in New Jersey to seek their help in murdering Altamirano. Townley, an American who lived most of his life in Chile, is the government's chief prosecution witness and has already pleaded guilty to the murders.

Propper said that, with the help of the Cuban exiles, Townley bought explosives and electronic devices and lined up Cuban assistants for a murder mission to Mexico to kill Altamirano at a Chilean exile meeting where he was a speaker.

But the plan was thwarted when Town-

## LETELIER MURDER TRIAL

# Defendants charge Townley and CIA with evil bombing



The car in which Orlando Letelier and Ronni Karpen Moffitt were riding when they were murdered.

## Townley denies CIA connection; testifies about details of Letelier-Moffitt murder

ley took longer than expected to gain the trust of the Cubans, and to buy the needed murder materials—TNT, a telephone paging device which Townley modified into a remote bomb detonator, and electric matches for bomb fuses.

Townley then went to Miami where he recruited Virgil Paz, one of the two Cuban exiles still sought for the Letelier-Moffitt murders, to help him assassinate Altamirano. But when the death team arrived in Mexico, the Chilean meeting had already ended.

The Altamirano murder scheme and the murders of Letelier-Moffitt are, according to government and other sources,

only two of many assassination plans—some successful, some not—participated in jointly by DINA and Cuban exiles.

#### Cubans insist on DINA help.

In the assassination of Letelier, said prosecutor Propper, the Cubans insisted that DINA remain involved in the murder, through Townley, and insisted that Townley plant the bomb in Letelier's car. When the investigation of the murders began to focus on the Cubans, Propper told the jury, they contacted Townley to arrange a loan of \$25,000 so that they could leave the U.S., but were turned down by the Chilean government.

## AFL-CIO, Inter-American group postpone Chile boycott

Organizers of a consumer boycott of imported goods from Chile were "greatly disappointed" by a decision made last week by the AFL-CIO and ORIT—the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers—to postpone for at least six weeks the start of the proposed boycott of handling any products from Chile.

Several Latin American representatives at the Washington meeting were reported "furious" at the delay. The AFL-CIO apparently wants to await results of discussions between some Chilean unionists—known as the Group of Ten—and the Pinochet regime. In late December, Pinochet appointed a new labor minister, Jose Pinero, who promised in early January to restore some union rights.

Many supporters of democratic rights in Chile think it is hopeless to negotiate with Pinochet, even if it is worth pressuring the regime for liberalization. Pinochet's modest concessions to trade unionists may have been made in response to pressure from Peter Grace, president of R.W. Grace shipping lines and president as well of the American Institute for Free Labor Development, who recently visited Chile. AIFLD, which numbers AFL-CIO president George Meany among its directors, has a notorious his-

tory in Latin America for intervention in favor of conservative, pro-capitalist unions.

The delay in implementing the boycott came at a particularly inopportune time, according to Susan Borenstein, executive director of the National Chile Center, which has been mounting a consumer boycott of Chilean wines and fruits, such as grapes, peaches, grapefruit and plums. This is the peak season for importation of Chilean fruits and the time when a labor boycott would have had the greatest effect.

The fruit and food boycott would strike a direct blow at the "shock treatment" policies of the Pinochet regime inspired by U.S. conservative economist Milton Friedman. Chilean economic policy now emphasizes maximizing exports to earn foreign exchange, even though that means driving up the prices for food in Chile. Although food now makes up roughly 10 percent of Chilean exports, according to boycott supporters, under the Salvador Allende government almost no food was exported and food was even imported to meet domestic needs. The result in Chile now is growing malnutrition and a further squeeze on declining workers' incomes.

—David Mohr

Some of the unused bomb parts for the Altamirano assassination were later recovered in an apartment in New Jersey, rented by the defendant Ross under an alias, Propper charged.

The prosecutors outlined frequent contact between Cuban exiles and high Chilean officials, including Chilean president Augusto Pinochet, and said the Cuban Nationalists hoped the Chilean government would recognize them as the official Cuban government in exile and allow them to open government offices in Santiago.

One government investigator told **IN THESE TIMES** that Pinochet is responsible not only for the Letelier murder and the Altamirano assassination attempt, but also for the assassination of Chilean general Carlos Prats, and that Pinochet "ordered the murders" of Bernardo Leighton, Gabriel Valdes, Andres Pascal Allende and others.

#### Letelier letters.

U.S. District Judge Barrington Parker, who had ruled against a defense motion to admit the materials found in Letelier's briefcase at the bombing site, Wednesday seemed to be reconsidering this decision. He appointed a team to do new translations of four letters: one from ousted Marxist Chilean president Salvador Allende to Letelier; one from Letelier to Allende's daughter, Tati; one from Letelier to Cuban foreign minister Raul Roa; and one to Letelier from a German branch of Letelier's political party, Unidad Popular.

Prosecutors have attempted to establish the motive of a Chilean government for Letelier's assassination. Among the witnesses so far have been Sen. George McGovern (D-SD), who testified that Letelier "sensitized" him to the issue of Chilean human rights violations.

He also said that Letelier had lobbied vigorously in the Congress for passage of legislation that would cut in half the \$50 million in U.S. economic aid to Chile unless that country changed its oppressive policies.

Dutch congressman, Relus ter Beek, Labor Party member of the second chamber of the Dutch Parliament, testified that Letelier's meetings with various Dutch leaders helped to convince a Dutch company, the Stevin Group, to cancel a multi-million dollar investment in Chile.

Michael Moffitt, Ronni Moffitt's husband, who was riding to work at the Institute for Policy Studies with his wife and Letelier when the car bomb exploded, testified that he tried to free Letelier from the car wreckage. He then saw that Letelier's legs had been blown away. A few minutes later, he saw his wife, whom he had first thought unhurt when she stumbled away from the car, bleeding to death from the mouth. Moffitt himself was injured only slightly.

#### Letelier death threats.

Moffitt also testified that Letelier had told him that a Chilean military officer had warned him, as he was being sent into exile after a year in concentration camp, that "Gen. Pinochet does not, and will not, tolerate activities against his government." The night before Letelier was slain, Moffitt testified, he had received a letter from a Chilean informant warning of threats against his life.

During her testimony, Isabel Letelier, Orlando's widow, wore a necklace containing a stone from Dawson Island concentration camp on which her husband had carved her nickname, Isa, during his imprisonment there.

She told of making an appointment with her husband on the morning of his murder to meet him for lunch and, half an hour later, receiving a call from his assistant to come to the hospital because "there's been a horrible accident."

"When I got to the hospital, I saw many people who worked at the Institute. I saw in their faces that something terrible had happened."

Mrs. Letelier also testified that her husband had traveled widely speaking about "the violations of human rights in Chile and the poor people in Chile who were starving."

Trin Yarborough and Max Weisenfeld work for the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C.



# SMOKING

## SURGEON GENERAL: IF YOU SMOKE MORE YOU DIE YOUNGER

By Ellen Goldensohn

**I**F THERE ARE ANY LINGERING doubts about whether smoking is directly linked to lung cancer and heart disease, they should be dispelled by the 1979 Surgeon General's Report. According to its findings, America's 54 million smokers are daily increasing their risk of premature and often particularly unpleasant deaths.

*Smoking and Health: A Report of the Surgeon General* was officially released on Jan. 11, the same date the first Surgeon General's Report on smoking appeared in 1964. In choosing to emphasize this 15th anniversary, HEW Secretary Joseph A. Califano was undoubtedly attempting to increase the impact of this 1200-page document.

The sheer bulk of this report is meant to, and does, impress. It is a compendium of more than 30,000 papers studying the health consequences and behavioral aspects of smoking, possibilities for prevention and methods to curb the habit. In his introduction to the volume, Surgeon General Dr. Julius Richmond describes the report's contents as presenting "overwhelming evidence" that cigarette smoking causes lung cancer and heart disease and a formidable number of other diseases, and cites smoking as the "single most important environmental factor contributing to premature mortality."

Among other things, the 1979 report

- Piles up evidence to reaffirm the conclusion of its 1964 predecessor that smoking is a cause of lung cancer;

- Establishes a causal connection between smoking and emphysema;

- Goes beyond the 1964 study in definitively pointing to smoking as a key cause of heart and artery diseases;

- Adds urinary bladder cancer, cancer of the esophagus, cancer of the pancreas and cancer of the larynx to the list of diseases caused by or strongly connected to the smoking habit;

- Confirms that smokers' general mortality rates are higher (in men, by 70 percent) than the non-smoking population and that their life expectancies are significantly shorter than for non-smokers (a 30-year-old who smokes two packs a day loses 8.1 years of life);

- Shows that smokers who work in certain industries (such as asbestos, rubber, chemicals, uranium and textiles) can run up to 90 times greater risk of developing lung cancer than their non-smoking counterparts;

- Links smoking in expectant mothers to low birthweight infants, more frequent miscarriages and the birth of children with "measurable deficiencies in growth and development."

Although the tobacco industry made no attempt directly to refute the evidence presented in the report, a spokesperson for the Tobacco Institute, an industry association, called the data "not so much research as re-hash." And, in fact, the Surgeon General's office—with a five-fold increase in supporting data—came to pretty much the same conclusions as were found 15 years ago.

The tobacco industry is fond of saying that the links between smoking and cancer are "only statistical, not causal," but a

reading of the current report makes this claim seem a murderous evasion. Although the first causes of the many cancers are not yet known, the Surgeon General's Report clearly shows that smoking directly promotes the development of a variety of cancers and several other diseases.

The report's conclusion that there is a causal link between smoking and many specific diseases is not based simply on evidence that smokers have a greater chance than non-smokers of contracting those diseases and dying from them. Time and time again, the studies also show that for many of the cancers, cardiovascular diseases and for emphysema, the link with smoking is strongly "dose-related"—that is, the rates of illness and death rise in direct correlation to the number of cigarettes smoked, the duration of the smoking habit and degree of inhalation.

Conversely, stopping smoking is consistently associated in the studies with decreased risk of sickness and death from the same diseases. This dose-related evidence clearly singles out smoking as an independent disease-promoting factor, not a coincidental correlate. To get a hint of the breadth of some of the studies, the 41 tables of mortality rates in Chapter One of the report include eight major long-term follow-up studies of smoking, ranging in size from a British survey of 40,000 doctors to an American Cancer Society project that followed more than one million people in 25 states. All these studies unambiguously point up the relation between smoking and excess mortality.

In reviewing the nation's overall smoking habits of the last 15 years, the Surgeon General's Report revealed some bright spots. Thirty million people have given up smoking since 1964, and the percentage of adult smokers in January 1979 is lower than it has been at any time since the government began measuring smoking rates about 25 years ago. Given what Secretary Califano termed the "intense difficulty of quitting" and the "relentless efforts of the cigarette manufacturers to promote smoking," the drop in adult smoking is remarkable.

However, in spite of the apparent positive response among some groups of adults to the warnings against cigarettes, smoking among the young—particularly women and girls—has dramatically increased. (Between 1968 and 1974, the number of girls between the ages of 12 and 14 who smoked increased eightfold). Although smoking in adult women has fallen off slightly, those who do smoke as much as men have comparable dose-related mortality. Smoking-related death rates among women have increased to the extent that lung cancer is now the third most frequent cause of death among women. In the words of the report: "Women who smoke like men die like men who smoke."

Blacks are also particularly at risk. A greater proportion of blacks smoke than do whites and their lung cancer rates are higher.

In sum, the Surgeon General's Report contains a lot of old, bad news and a good deal of new bad news.

Secretary Califano expects that the mere publication of the 1979 report will have positive effects on health. In his

preface to the document, he writes, "Every time government and voluntary agencies have intensified efforts to spotlight risks, more smokers have given up" the habit. Clearly, mere information does make a big difference in getting some groups of people to stop smoking, but it doesn't do nearly enough to prevent the very young from embarking on the habit.

To this end the Secretary has announced that his campaign against smoking, launched a year ago, will receive an unspecified increase in funds earmarked for programs to convince children not to take up smoking. Other components of the campaign include more anti-smoking spots on television and efforts to restrict smoking in public buildings.

The War Against Smoking seems primarily a war of persuasion, and some of Califano's victories may be cancelled out by conflicting policies in the other branches of the federal government. President Carter has made no comment on the Surgeon General's Report and has gone to some trouble to reassure tobacco farmers that government will continue to subsidize them for growing that crop. Congress has never moved to bring tobacco under federal regulation as a drug, and as a token of its commitment to tobacco interests, has not raised the excise tax on a pack of cigarettes since 1951. In terms of influence, the voluntary organizations (such as the Lung Association and Cancer Society), which comprise a great proportion of the anti-smoking forces, are at a disadvantage since they cannot lobby without forfeiting their non-profit status with IRS. Meanwhile, the tobacco

lobbyists in Washington have a \$5 million yearly budget with which to pursue the industry's interests.

DHEW and Califano are doing their own thing, but there is no sign of government intention to attack the smoking problem on the behalf of the public. While several European and Scandinavian countries (among them Italy, Norway and Finland) have banned cigarette advertising altogether, such an explicit intervention seems unthinkable here at present. Not only is the government fragmented, on the issue of smoking, but the health establishment has also not organized itself to push for a major anti-smoking campaign. Preoccupied with intervening in acute stages of disease, the health professionals express minimal interest in health promotion activities.

If no concerted effort is made for a campaign on smoking to reach beyond HEW, the main effect of the new Surgeon General's Report will be to throw responsibility on the individual smoker.

The Report cites evidence of a health problem of staggering and tragic proportions—one-third of the nation's adult population and hundreds of thousands of its children are addicted to a potentially lethal drug. Many will give up smoking on the basis of the Surgeon General's findings, but the vast majority will not. Young people especially are likely to be more influenced by social acceptance of smoking than by the delayed threat of disability and death. The Surgeon General's report alone can do little to stop the creation of another generation of smokers. ■

## SEVEN COMPANIES CONTROL MOST OF WORLD'S SMOKES

By Bruce Vandervort

G E N E V A

**T**HE ANTI-TRUST ACTION THAT broke up Standard Oil in 1911 also dismantled a firm called the American Tobacco Company. By the time the trust busters got to the ATC, it had just about cornered the entire American tobacco market and, in collusion with the Imperial Tobacco Company of Great Britain, was on its way to big things on the world market. The ATC is no more, but the monopolistic practices it represented have survived in other, more subtle forms. In fact, the tobacco industry, one of the world's earliest and most formidable monopolies, is today its most nearly perfect oligopoly.

A study just released by the United Nations states that seven multinational companies now account either directly or through licensing arrangements for about 90 percent of global tobacco manufacturing. In 1975, that included some 3.4 trillion cigarettes; of which 651.2 billion were turned out in the U.S. This is big business: in 1976, tobacco's Seven Sisters grossed about \$32 billion.

Four of the seven market leaders are American: Philip Morris (Marlboro), R.J. Reynolds (Winston), American Brands (Benson & Hedges) and Gulf and Western (Monte Cristo cigars). Two are British-based: British-American Tobacco (BAT) (Kent) and Imperial Tobacco (Players). The final member of the group is the South African conglomerate Rupert/Rembrandt, which just increased its share of the American market by acquiring Lig-

gett & Myers (L&M). Formerly, the company was perhaps best known in America for its Dunhill and Rothmans cigarettes.

### Chain stores and beer.

Though these transnationals still rely on tobacco for the hard core of their cash flow, all have diversified widely in recent years. Some, as we shall see, have moved into closely related sectors (paper is a good example) in a drive to achieve vertical linkage in their tobacco operations. Others have ventured far afield, into beverages, snack foods and toiletries, for example.

Many commentators see this trend as a response to the cancer scare and anti-smoking initiatives like Proposition 5 in California last year. However, the reasons given by R.J. Reynolds in 1975 may be equally important: "First, having captured one-third of the U.S. cigarette market, the company could see a point of diminishing returns for growth potential. Second, significant cash was being generated which could be invested advantageously elsewhere."

Reynolds has probably sunk more of its huge cash flow (1976 net income: \$353 million) into diversification than any other tobacco multinational. Some of its earliest non-tobacco purchases—the Sea-Land container shipping line, Reynolds Aluminum—were aimed at reducing dependence on outside suppliers. More recent acquisitions have less direct connection to the tobacco business. Thus, Reynolds has become a sizeable oil producer and refiner, through take-overs of Aminoil and the American holdings of Burmah Oil, and a major food agribusiness concern, with its acquisition of Del Monte





Photos/Robert Gumpert

in 1978.

The other tobacco transnationals have followed similar paths. BAT seems to favor chain stores in its diversification planning. Thus, New Yorkers may wince to learn that Gimbels and Sak's Fifth Avenue are British-owned, and Midwesterners to find out that the 192 Kohl's supermarkets in Illinois and Wisconsin have met the same fate.

Generally, though, beverage producers have been the main target of tobacco company buying sprees. Thus, imperial Tobacco owns Britain's important Courage brewing company and a chunk of Harp Lager. South African Rupert/Rembrandt, already in control of southern Africa's biggest brewer, Intercontinental, now owns 51 percent of Canadian Breweries and 100 percent of Carling Breweries.

Closer to home, Philip Morris bought out the Miller Brewing Co. some years ago, and has just added Seven-Up to its list of subsidiaries. The firm also is the exclusive distributor of Lowenbrau in the U.S. And, not to be left behind, American Brands has 100 percent ownership of the Jim Beam distilleries.

#### Advertising monopoly.

The most highly-diversified tobacco multinational, however, is Gulf & Western (G&W). G&W is well-known to Latin America watchers as the Dominican Republic's biggest landowner (270,000 acres) and sugar producer and as one of the firms that has profited most from the American economic boycott of Cuba. Its Consolidated Cigar subsidiary (one-third of the American market) helped

build up the Canary Islands as an alternative supplier of cigar tobacco. Otherwise, the company merits attention as the owner of Madison Square Garden, Paramount Pictures and Simon & Schuster, America's biggest publisher.

One of the authors of the UN report, Frederick Clairmonte, observes that the operations of these tobacco multinationals have "negated, in theory and practice, the competitive market mechanism." Together, they constitute an oligopoly which, Clairmonte writes, exercises "decisive control" over the global tobacco industry from its base in Britain, the U.S. and South Africa. There is no room for outsiders.

To begin with, new competitors would find it extremely difficult to match the

*Continued on next page.*

*The report presents "overwhelming evidence that cigarettes cause not only lung cancer and heart disease, but also many other diseases. Smoking is the single most important contribution to early death."*

## Will cocoa beans replace tobacco?

Hold that nicotine fit and stop that tobacco craving! Relief, says Lee J. Danna, a former R.J. Reynolds Tobacco exec, is on the way. Danna and his fledgling International Brands Corporation spell relief c-o-c-o-a.

Introduced this past fall, International Brands is marketing a non-tobacco cigarette made out of cocoa beans and called Free. The name connotes the absence of nicotine. And Danna is touting his product as the "safe smoke" America's 50 million smokers have been waiting for.

Ever since the U.S. Surgeon General's warning that "cigarettes can be harmful to your health," American cigarette smokers have been searching for safer smoking alternatives. A cancer-wary public has pushed sales of low tar and nicotine cigarettes through the ceiling. And the organized force of the non-smoking public is beginning to be felt.

Examples of this shift of smoking consciousness persist. Half a dozen cities have laws that restrict smoking in public places like supermarkets and restaurants. Under pressure from non-smokers, the Civil Aeronautics Board recently announced regulations to severely restrict smoking sections on airplanes. And during the last California election, it took a \$5 million onslaught from the tobacco in-

dustry to prevent the passage of a law guaranteeing the rights of non-smokers to be free of smoke in public places.

Smoking is a big big business. American smokers spend more than \$16 billion annually, consuming 20 trillion cigarettes each year. The introduction of Free into the market is but the latest in a long series of efforts to find a nontobacco substitute that can satisfy the smoking public.

The key, of course, is the taste. Other nontobacco cigarettes—made with ingredients ranging from marigold leaves to clover—have failed simply because they tasted lousy. Several years ago a Texas company introduced a cigarette made from lettuce leaves, but sales lagged because the smokes gave off a pungent aroma.

But Danna's cocoa bean product seems to be winning a market. Free—which cannot be legally called a cigarette because it contains no tobacco—was test-marketed for a year in Modesto, Calif., and the response was such that a mass marketing campaign was commenced in mid-November of last year. In only 60 days, demand has pushed production to a rate of three million weekly. Danna is cheerily predicting that figure will double by March and that, eventually, International Brands will capture 1 percent of the American

cigarette market.

Distributed with the help of Peter Stokkeby International Ltd., Free is presently being sold in tobacco stores and newsstands in 24 states. Even though the tobacco-free product is exempt from hefty state and federal cigarette taxes, the price per package is 75 cents.

Free's price compares favorably with the other major nontobacco cigarettes on the market, Honeyrose. Imported from Britain by East/West Marketing Co., these smokes are made from a mixture of herbs including coltsfoot and yarrow, which are soaked in honey. Sold mainly in health food stores, Honeyrose smokes cost \$1.25 per pack.

But nontobacco cigarettes are not necessarily as healthy as their makers claim. Eric Celke, the public relations director for International Brands, admits that Free contain tars, just like tobacco cigarettes. And the AMA has noted that tars from lettuce or other leaves, even without nicotine, are just as damaging to the respiratory system as tobacco tars.

However, Free's biggest sales obstacle thus far has been its chocolate aroma. Danna and Celke urge smokers to give the product a week's trial, declaring, "Remember how it took awhile to get used to smoking cigarettes?" —Larry Remer



# SMOKING

Continued from previous page.

cash flow resources of the seven multinationals. American Brands, Philip Morris and R.J. Reynolds have the capital to drown out any American newcomers through advertising, which the UN report sees as the key to oligopoly control in tobacco. American Brands, the hungriest of the U.S. cigarette manufacturers, ranked No. 2 among corporate users of advertising in the U.S. in 1976, while Reynolds came in ninth and Philip Morris fourteenth. Collectively, the seven tobacco multinationals spend about \$1.8 billion a year on promotion.

Ready cash is a crucial factor when it comes to promoting new brands. Thus, in the race to capture the low-tar market, Philip Morris spent \$42 million in pushing its "Merit" product, while Reynolds is said to have allocated \$50-60 million to advertise its "Real" brand.

In addition, Tobacco's Seven Sisters have wide open credit lines wherever they operate. This has been most blatantly clear in the Third World. In Latin America, where BAT and Philip Morris control most of the cigarette market, local bankers and governments have been remarkably generous; in the last decade, over 90 percent of investment by tobacco transnationals in Latin America was financed by domestic capital. Sri Lanka remains the prime example of this, however. BAT's subsidiary there, which dominates local tobacco sales, hasn't used any outside capital since 1938.

## 400 percent mark-up.

Control over technology is another important ingredient in the tobacco multinationals' success in cornering the world market. Cigarette processing is extremely capital-intensive, ranking second to oil refining in the amount of cash invested per employee (\$108,200 in the U.S. in 1972). Most of this goes for the complex,

high-speed machines now being used in cigarette processing. The latest model can turn out 5,000 filter tips a minute. Molins, the company that makes it—have you guessed already?—is jointly owned by two of tobacco's Seven Sisters, BAT and Imperial.

Vertical integration now extends to tobacco growing as well. Most of the tobacco transnationals either have preferential agreements with leaf buyers or have their own leaf-buying subsidiaries. In Brazil, a leading exporter of dark leaf tobacco, tobacco growing is almost entirely controlled by BAT, through its Export Leaf subsidiary. Export Leaf loans money to the farmers to finance production and then takes the crop as security. The firm reportedly sells the baled leaf abroad for a price some 400 percent higher than it paid to the growers.

As in Brazil, the big companies ride roughshod over growers and local processors in the developing world, where 55 percent of the world's leaf tobacco is grown. In all, some 85 percent of this output is marketed by multinationals like BAT.

If this kind of clout isn't sufficient to keep out competitors, the tobacco oligopoly has other weapons at its disposal. The seven majors have formal pacts among themselves dealing with, among other things, the demarcation of market boundaries, limits to competition in certain product lines, pricing, trademark swaps and technology sharing. The transnationals also use their control over patents and licensing to good advantage.

To date, the only significant competition to the transnationals has come from the state tobacco monopolies in France, Italy, Japan and the socialist countries. But, here too, the Seven Sisters have made inroads. The biggest breach has come in Italy, where the state company has lost 30 percent of the market to outsiders, principally Philip Morris. The Marlboro Man is also roaming the steppes of the USSR. Philip Morris recently signed a licensing agreement with the Soviet tobacco monopoly to produce a brand called "Apollo-Soyuz."

*United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), Marketing and distribution of tobacco (Geneva: 1978), 122 pp. + annexes. Available from the UN, Sales Section, New York, under Sales No. E.78.II.D.14; \$10.00.*



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### IN THESE TIMES

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## Abzug fired

Continued from page 3.

the Friday afternoon meeting with the President, stated that the Advisory Committee was critical of the administration's proposed 10 percent increase in the military budget because "the recognition of China and the impending SALT agreement should lead to deceleration of the arms race."

Although Carter apparently decided to dismiss Abzug after seeing the release on Thursday, he did not mention this during the 90-minute Friday meeting with the Committee. But he was reported to have told the group that he was disappointed over its relations with the administration. "It saps our joint strength for us to be confrontational," a White House official said Carter told the committee. Nonetheless, Abzug informed reporters afterward that "we had a very good meeting," because Carter "was anxious that we present our beefs and gripes."

Abzug abruptly reversed her euphemistic description of Carter's attitude when she met later with Hamilton Jordan in response to a note given her before the presidential meeting. Jordan informed her that the President wanted her resignation. According to Abzug, Jordan said, "How dare you write an advance press release before seeing the President?"

She commented, "Can you imagine just how many times that's been done by groups in Washington? I mean, it was just like being in a surrealist movie that had nothing to do with reality. They were so cruel it was useless."

## Committee cancelled meeting.

Abzug said Jordan also objected to the committee's cancelling a 15-minute meeting with Carter in November. Abzug had only been present for the last hour of the two-day committee meeting which unanimously decided that 15 minutes was too short to present their 30-page analysis of the impact of Carter's programs on women.

She opposed the cancellation but went along with the decision of the group when overruled. Carter had apologized both to Abzug and co-chair Carmen Delgado Votaw, asking the committee to meet with

Stuart Eizenstat in preparation for a January meeting with him. Several committee members met with Eizenstat on Dec. 20, presenting him with an issue memorandum that was later revised to a 4500-word statement for the President.

The press release Carter found so objectionable was based on this statement, and quoted Eizenstat as admitting that the government has not "sensitized itself" to the "profound implications" of women's increased participation in the labor force.

The statement was a detailed analysis of Carter's anti-inflation guidelines, advocating cuts in the defense budget rather than in social programs. The original version presented to Eizenstat had not received any negative comments from the White House.

Carter's strong reaction to the Advisory Committee indicates he is less interested in advice than in support for his positions. He would like to believe that his efforts on behalf of the ERA are sufficient to win him the loyalty of women's groups. And he is clearly piqued that they are not.

## Carter takes Nixon's approach.

As he prepares to run for re-election, Carter is adopting the same attitude Nixon did in '72; any dissent is disloyalty. Ironically, this approach led him to fire someone who was a moderating force on his behalf at the 1976 Democratic Convention and within the National Advisory Committee.

Responses from other members of the committee indicate most felt Abzug was being scapegoated. When informed of her dismissal, 25 members of the 39-person committee resigned in a show of solidarity. They criticized the President for not informing them "of his decision to force the resignation of Ms. Abzug, who was carrying out the instructions of her committee members."

The committee was appointed by the President last June to advise him on women's issues as a consequence of the National Women's Conference held in Houston the previous November.

At a news conference called to announce the resignations, Nancy Neuman of the League of Women Voters stated that "women's issues have been on the back burner of national policy decisions. Now they are in the refrigerator."

## Steinem demands ERA.

Gloria Steinem, not a committee member, questioned "the President's ability to perceive his own political self-interest." She added that in order to retain women's loyalties in 1980 he would now have to get them something big—like the ERA.

This sentiment was echoed at another news conference held in the Ms. magazine office the following day by New York City National Organization for Women (NOW)'s Kathe Rauche. "We are a political organization," she said. "And we will not forget President Carter's treatment of our issues and of one of the movement's leading spokeswomen, the way he has forgotten his promises to us."

*Jo Freeman is a Congressional Fellow this year for the American Political Science Association. She is the author of one and editor of another book on feminism.*

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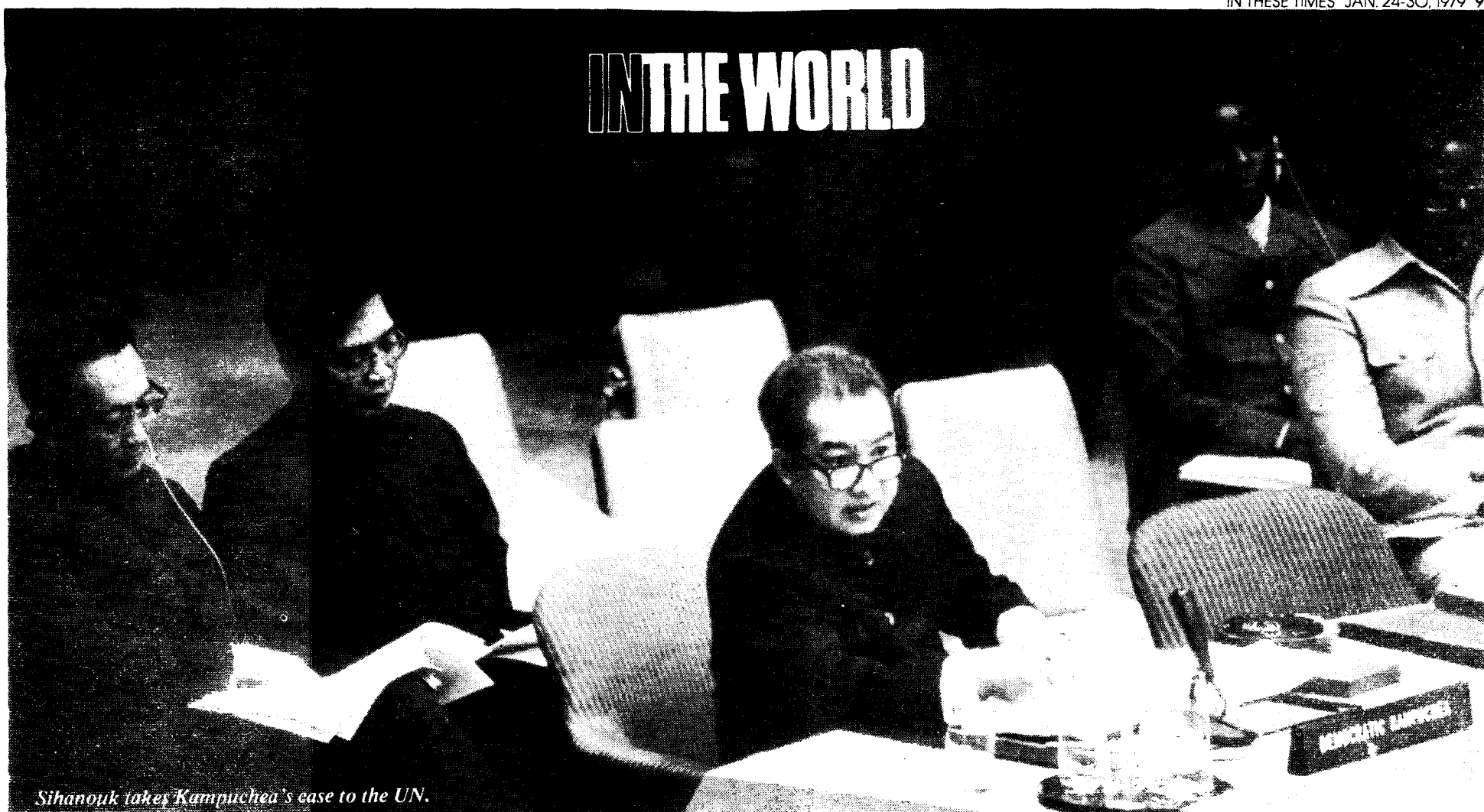
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# IN THE WORLD



Sihanouk takes Kampuchea's case to the UN.

United Nations

## KAMPUCHEA/VIETNAM

# A history of Indochinese conflict

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

**O**N JAN. 7, A NEWLY-CREATED Revolutionary People's Council of Kampuchea (Cambodia) took power in Phnom Penh after a lightning Vietnamese offensive routed the "Khmer Rouge" regime headed by Pol Pot. In the background was a long and bitter struggle between pro- and anti-Vietnamese factions within the Cambodian communist movement.

**1930.** Ho Chi Minh founded the Indochinese Communist party out of a couple of Vietnamese communist parties that had sprung up without the blessing of the Third International, which was wary of Vietnamese nationalism and thus insisted on an "Indochinese" party.

**1951.** The Indochinese Communist party was disbanded to form three separate parties for Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. The Cambodian People's Party (Pracheachon) was founded by veterans of the "Khmer Issarak" who had worked closely with the Viet Minh.

**1954.** The Geneva Accords ending the French presence in Indochina left Cambodia to Prince Sihanouk, with no place for Khmer Issarak guerrillas, who took refuge in North Vietnam. Meanwhile, a small group of Khmer students who had become politicized in Paris in the early '50s—Saloth Sar (to emerge under the name of Pol Pot), Ieng Sary, Khieu Samphan, Son Sen, Hu Nim, Ho Yun and two sisters, Khieu Ponnary and Khieu Thirith, who married Pol Pot and Ieng Sary—began returning to Cambodia, where they secretly joined the Pracheachon and opposed the "pro-Vietnamese, revisionist" policy of its leaders.

**1959.** Khieu Samphan successfully defended his doctor of law thesis in Paris entitled *Cambodia's Economy and Problems of Industrialization*, in which he argued that the only way for Cambodia to emerge from underdevelopment was to cut itself off entirely from the outside world in order to escape from "the worldwide system of capitalist exploitation"—an implicit rejection of the notion of a "socialist camp." His idea of nation-building, inspired by the great collective (slave labor) public works of the ancient Khmer civilization that produced the Angkor Wat temples, was what the "Khmer Rouge" regime tried to put into practice in 1975-78.

**1960.** The Pol Pot group secretly founded its own communist party, whose existence was not made public until 17 years later.

**1962.** Cambodian communist leader Touch Samut disappeared mysteriously; circumstantial evidence suggests he was eliminated as an "agent of Hanoi" by Pol Pot.

**1963.** Pol Pot and a small group of friends went into hiding from Sihanouk's repression and began organizing the first "Khmer Rouge" guerrilla group in western Cambodia, near the Thai border. Khieu Samphan, remaining in Phnom Penh, was alternately intimidated and flattered by Prince Sihanouk, who took him into his cabinet as Minister of Trade in 1962-63. Khieu Samphan's courage in standing up to threats and assassination attempts from Sihanouk's secret police made him a popular figure. Two other members of the Pol Pot group, Hu Nim and Ho Yun, also served in Sihanouk cabinets, which was in line with the Vietnamese position of trying to reach a compromise with the prince rather than overthrow him.

**1967.** Apparently marked for assassination, Khieu Samphan, Hu Nim and Ho Yun fled the capital and joined Pol Pot's

guerrilla band.

**March 18, 1970.** Lon Nol led a right-wing military coup against Sihanouk, in line with American wishes to drive the Vietnamese out of the eastern Cambodian "Ho Chi Minh Trail" supply-line area. Rampaging Lon Nol troops massacred Vietnamese civilian inhabitants of Cambodian towns. Probably under Vietnamese pressure, the Khmer Rouge hard-liners agreed to join with Sihanouk and other more moderate groups in a united front. Khmer Issarak veterans began leaving Vietnam to fight in the new resistance in Cambodia. Throughout the war, the Vietnamese denied they were fighting in Cambodia and attributed Lon Nol's defeats to Khmer guerrillas. But last year, Vietnamese privately began telling journalists that Pol Pot's group had taken advantage of Vietnamese military victories to install its own dictatorship.

**February 1973.** The Paris Accords took the U.S. out of the Vietnam war while the U.S. continued its full-scale saturation bombing of Cambodia. This fed Cambodian resentment of the Vietnamese.

**April 17, 1975.** Phnom Penh fell to the Khmer Rouge two weeks before Saigon fell. The Khmer Rouge expelled all the

Vietnamese, clashed with the Vietnamese in the first border incidents over disputed islands in the Gulf of Thailand.

**June 11, 1975.** Pol Pot visited Hanoi and acknowledged that "without the aid of our Vietnamese comrades, victory would not have been possible."

**August 1975.** Vietnamese party leader Le Duan visited Phnom Penh. Both sides spoke of an eventual friendship treaty which never materialized.

**December 1975.** Over 1000 Cambodians trying to flee into Vietnam were turned back to Khmer Rouge soldiers by Vietnamese authorities in an effort to maintain good relations, according to Vietnamese sources who disclosed the incident some two years later.

**April 1976.** Sihanouk resigned as head of state, dropped out of sight, replaced by Khieu Samphan. Cambodia was run by a mysterious "Angkar"—"The Organization."

**May 1976.** Khmer-Vietnamese border treaty negotiations in Phnom Penh broke down over the problem of maritime boundaries.

**September 1976.** The Khmer Rouge leadership reportedly began getting rid

*Continued on page 10.*

## Sihanouk strikes back at Vietnam

By Richard Goldensohn

NEW YORK

**I**T WAS FRIDAY EVENING AND Prince Norodom Sihanouk was listening to the Voice of America at home in Phnom Penh. Suddenly, a black Mercedes limousine pulled into the driveway. It was Khieu Samphan, President of Cambodia, who told him that Prime Minister Pol Pot was waiting to see him.

Less than a week later, Sihanouk strode into the Security Council chamber at the UN to defend the legitimacy of the Pol Pot government and to condemn a "large scale act of flagrant aggression" against Cambodia, which, he said, had been invaded by 14 divisions of Vietnamese troops backed by the Soviet Union.

Sihanouk's dramatic departure from Phnom Penh, Jan. 6, after over three years of house arrest, and his impassioned press conference in Peking two days later was appropriately climaxed by his UN

appearance. "The only internationally known Cambodian," as one TV network called him, attempted to embody the Cambodian people's feelings, and his mild, engaging, princely manner assured him success.

For the first time in more than a year, the 250-seat press gallery in the Security Council was filled, as were all the seats open to the public. Instead of the usual hubbub that continues throughout most UN sessions, the hall fell completely silent when Donald O. Mills of Jamaica, the Security Council's new president, brought the meeting to order an hour and a half late at 4:30 p.m.

### Disowns and defends.

Media celebrities such as NET's Robert McNeil dotted the press section. Someone in the public gallery volunteered that he had come "instead of going to the movies."

"Sihanouk was always the darling of the American press," one UN reporter explained. "Ever since the days of the

Vietnam war when reporters would go to peaceful Phnom Penh to rest up, these reporters have been in love with the Cambodians and Sihanouk." Another correspondent commented that the American press enjoys seeing communists "fighting it out with each other." They were not disappointed.

Just before Sihanouk's request to speak was granted, the Soviet representative tried to have the meeting adjourned until a representative of the new government in Phnom Penh could arrive. Since the drama had been building for hours and Sihanouk was already seated in the hall, the resounding 13-2 defeat of the Soviet proposal to send everyone home only minutes after the meeting had finally begun was greeted by gleeful snickering. When the motion to allow Sihanouk to speak was finally accepted it drew subdued applause, which UN guards quickly hushed.

Sihanouk had brilliantly set the stage for his appearance. Having accepted the

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# Indochina conflict

Continued from page 9.

of cadre trained in Vietnam who returned to Cambodia after 1970.

**February 1977.** An abortive uprising reportedly led to a stepped-up purge of "pro-Vietnamese traitors." A number of communist cadre escaped to Vietnam, by now letting in a flood of refugees. One of these was Heng Samrin.

**April 1977.** Apparently as an extension of their anti-Vietnamese campaign, the Khmer Rouge launched heavy attacks along the Vietnamese border from Ha Tien to Tay Ninh, according to Vietnamese sources who disclosed the attacks months afterwards.

**September 27, 1977.** On the eve of a trip to Peking, Pol Pot revealed the existence of the Khmer Communist party founded in 1960 with himself as secretary-general.

**December 31, 1977.** Phnom Penh publicly accused Vietnam of aggression and broke off diplomatic relations with Hanoi.

**February 5, 1978.** Hanoi proposed cessation of hostilities, negotiations, mutual troop pullbacks along the border to create a ten-kilometer wide demilitarized zone, with international supervision by the United Nations or the non-aligned countries. The Khmer Rouge dismissed the offer as a bluff. If so, they would have been smarter to call it.

**July 29, 1978.** Cambodia demanded Vietnam's expulsion from the non-aligned countries at their Belgrade meeting.

**November 3, 1978.** Vietnam signed a peace, friendship and cooperation treaty with the Soviet Union.

**December 3, 1978.** The creation of the National Union Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea (FUNSK), with Heng Samrin as president, was announced in Hanoi.

**December 25, 1978.** A major military offensive was launched into Cambodia from Vietnamese border areas in the name of FUNSK.

**January 7, 1979.** Fall of Phnom Penh.

## WORLDWIDE REACTIONS TO VIETNAM VICTORY

Nobody in the world really seemed to mind seeing the Khmer Rouge regime go under. As for the way it went, some who were quick to condemn were not necessarily heart-broken. Vietnam's fiercest critics got an unexpected consolation prize of Prince Sihanouk, who, "spat out like a cherry seed" by his Khmer Rouge captors as they fled, quickly provided the world with a trip backward in time that seemed to go a long way towards eradicating the very memory of a regime which only a short time ago seemed assured of a special place in the history of atrocities. Thanks to the Prince, it could almost seem that it was Sihanouk's old, supposedly easy-going Cambodia that had been invaded by Vietnam, and not the mysterious slave-labor camp whose reputation abroad gave rise to the term "auto-genocide."

Hanoi's enemies could look forward to seeing Vietnam get bogged down in a prolonged occupation of a traditionally hostile land, exhausting its moral prestige and sinking further into international isolation, too dependent on Moscow to play the world role its victory against the U.S. had seemed to promise.

Reactions in the Western European left were torn between relief at the end of the Pol Pot regime and an uneasy feeling that the Vietnam everyone had so long admired and even loved was undergoing a metamorphosis that might end in a painful estrangement. The left has reason to feel guilty towards Vietnam, K.S. Karol noted in the *Nouvel Observateur*. The left, he wrote "contracted a huge debt to Vietnam during its war of resistance to American aggression, and it has much to reproach itself for in its conduct after the 1975 Vietnamese victory. From that time on, in fact, the campaigns of support to that ravaged country stopped and we did not devote much energy to demanding that the U.S. pay economic reparations. That is how Vietnam ended up joining Comecon, thus losing its independence in relation to the USSR."

Swedish Social Democratic party leader and former Prime Minister Olof Palme, who supported the Vietnamese throughout their liberation struggle, said on Jan. 11 that Vietnamese military intervention in Cambodia should be condemned just like that of the U.S. in 1970. "The fact that auto-genocide ends in Cambodia is probably good for the Cambodian people, but intervention in a neighboring country can never be excused," he said, while calling it "one of the unfortunate consequences of the American war, which destroyed the delicate balance in the region." He said the big question now was whether or not Vietnamese troops would "have the wisdom to leave the country."

But Mr. Palme strongly objected to conservative suggestions that Sweden cut off its \$95 million per year development aid to Vietnam. "It's not by stopping construction of a children's hospital in Hanoi that we will help Vietnam. If we want to keep the regime from getting tougher, more repressive, the first thing is to get rid of hunger and create social conditions which can open up the country and give it a little confidence in its future."

### In France.

French Communist party (PCF) leader



## Sihanouk

Continued from page 9.

task of representing a government that kept him a prisoner, he had dissociated himself from its internal policies at his five-and-a-half hour press conference in Peking. He made it clear that he represented the internationally condemned Pol Pot government only as it stood for the independence and territorial integrity of his country. "If there is a problem dividing Cambodia," he now declared, "This problem must be resolved by Cambodians alone, without any interference from outside countries."

Sihanouk's stance made it undesirable for the Chinese to dissociate themselves from him, even though he had criticized its ally, Pol Pot. On the other hand, it made it more difficult for the Soviet Union and its allies to attack him as an apologist for the regime he had criticized. The U.S., which never recognized the Pol Pot regime, and was said to be unlikely to recognize the new one, supported Sihanouk's right to speak at the meeting, but did not otherwise take a position.

Repeatedly, the Soviet Union and the Vietnamese tried to make the point that the Pol Pot regime "no longer exists" and that there was therefore nothing to discuss. (At press time, latest reports are that Pol Pot's forces recaptured the port of Kompong Som.) Sihanouk solemnly declared, "The seat of our government is in one of our mountains. Our people will fight to the death against the Vietnamese. We may lose everything but we will never lose our national honor."

He compared the flight of Pol Pot from Phnom Penh to Charles de Gaulle's flight to London in 1940 when Paris fell to the Germans. At another point he described the Vietnamese invasion as "Hitlerite."

Sihanouk attacked the Soviet backing

George Marchais said he thought it was "a good thing for humanity that Cambodians, aided by Vietnam, put an end to a tyrannical regime." He said he "wouldn't blame" the Vietnamese for helping the people who overthrew the Pol Pot regime, since that regime had acted aggressively towards Vietnam.

In France, attitudes towards communist countries are currently all tied up with domestic political feuds, nowhere has Solzhenitsyn's "Gulag" been taken up with such vigor by an anti-communist campaign, which recently added a suspected Vietnamese "Gulag" to an already long list. Partly in response to this anti-Vietnamese campaign, but also probably to try to revive disheartened militants with a dose of old-fashioned solidarity, the PCF last fall began a campaign "for Vietnam." Coming after years of neglect, when virtually nothing was done to break the economic isolation strangling the war-devastated country, the PCF's campaign may cheer its own ranks but may have a more negative than positive effect on non-communist public opinion.

### In Italy.

The Italian Communist party seemed much more troubled. In a front-page editorial entitled simply "To understand," the PCI organ *Unita* asked readers to grasp "the meaning of what is happening, to take in what is new as well as disturbing in this painful and novel business." *Unita* attributed the rapid collapse

of the Vietnamese offensive and, referring to Soviet support of Lon Nol, the pro-U.S. dictator who deposed him in 1970, Sihanouk said that the Soviet's "have the bad habit of remaining in Phnom Penh with traitors." Then, looking to his left and staring directly at the Czech representative, Ilya Hulinsky, who had just voted against his request to speak, the Prince added, "The same is true in Czechoslovakia, which has accepted Soviet tanks crushing Czech patriots."

### Communist slugfest.

In matching wits on the Cambodia issue, the Chinese clearly fared better than the Soviets. Before Sihanouk's speech, the Chinese delegate, Chen Chu, questioned the veracity of the cable the Soviets said was from the new government in Phnom Penh to the Security Council. "The paper is RCA's," said Chen Chu, "but inquiries show that no telegram could have been sent from Phnom Penh. The original bears no time of delivery or receipt, which are normal features. This telegram is full of loopholes. It is probably a forgery by the Soviet or Vietnamese representatives in New York."

The telegram incident caused a stir. Xerox copies of the questionable cable circulated throughout the gallery. During a recess, a member of the Chinese delegation delighted in recounting his experiences as a sleuth to other delegates gathered in the corridor, all of them joining in the laughter.

Later, Raul Roa, speaking for Cuba, delivered a vitriolic speech apparently meant to counter the eloquence of Sihanouk's appeal. But Roa's speech lacked substance. He attacked Sihanouk personally, calling him "an opera prince," and suggested that if he had been genuinely opposed to the Pol Pot policies he should have committed suicide in protest "like a simple Buddhist."

Roa also attacked China, saying that the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" was the product of the "senile mind" of Mao Tse-tung.

Sihanouk recouped in a brief press conference that followed the session. "I am not an opera prince. If I am, then Castro is an opera premier, with that silly uniform and all." He added that Roa's speech was "very interesting. Very insulting. It means that the position of Cuba is weak. We did not attack Cuba."

"Now," he concluded, "they have given proof they are the lackeys of the Soviets and an accomplice of the invasion." Unlike his press conference in Peking, the Prince refused to comment on the charges of brutality against the Pol Pot government. He reminded reporters that he, himself, had been a prisoner and said, "I cannot say if such killings took place. I did not see such killings. I did not see

of the Pol Pot regime to its authoritarian rule and "violent abuse of office." But it suggested that Vietnam's involvement was not due solely to political agreement with Pol Pot's opponents, but rather also to "the specific requirements and aspirations of the Vietnamese nation," because a liberation struggle tends to "go beyond victory."

*Unita* stressed the negative effects on relations between China and the Soviet Union, on the course of liberation movements, on the development of socialist countries and on relations between them, "with the risk of causing frictions and disagreements to degenerate into outright conflict."

Many commentators seemed to consider it their task to sort out which of the principles colliding in this case had priority: human rights or territorial integrity, internationalism or national sovereignty? There was a notable tendency to say publicly that the invasion was wrong on principle, and privately that the change was bound to be an improvement.

The legalistic argument sometimes seemed to cover more complex concerns, harder to define. What is this new sort of victory going to do to the Vietnamese? However much the belligerence, brutality and political idiocy of the Khmer Rouge regime may be responsible for bringing in the Vietnamese, Vietnam now finds itself in the position of a hungry tiger in a sheep fold. The temptations could be very dangerous.

terrorized people. I saw people working hard, but not unhappy."

Reports of atrocities, mass killings, and brutal social policy have been coming out of Phnom Penh since the day the Pol Pot government came to power in 1975. In the opinion of some people, the U.S. press has blown the reports of killings out of proportion in part to justify in retrospect U.S. involvement in Vietnam. "It's the only bloodbath they ever got," said one former activist.

"I think there were probably a lot of killings," says Professor Ed Hermann, co-author of a forthcoming book on the U.S. and Asia entitled, *After the Cataclysm*, but it doesn't seem that they were organized from above. Most of them seemed to be local people taking the vengeance locally.

"The toll taken, even according to the right-wingers who have some credibility, is about 100,000 executed. Nothing like a million. The million and two million figures are pure concoctions."

"Fantastic numbers of people died of starvation and disease," says Herman. "But this was all forecast by the U.S. Embassy and AID before the Khmer Rouge took over."

"What the propaganda machine has done is allow people to believe that everyone who died is attributable to the Khmer Rouge, when in fact, most of the people who died are much more reasonably attributable to Kissinger, Nixon and that crowd."

At his UN press conference, Sihanouk indicated he would go to Washington after his work in New York was finished. Secretary of State Vance has already said that he would see him.

"I plan to stay in your great and beautiful country a long time," he said of his immediate plans. He said he would attend the General Assembly session at the end of January. The question of who represents Cambodia at the UN will ultimately be decided by the General Assembly.

Sihanouk acknowledged that there would be "no satisfactory resolution in the Security Council," because of Soviet vetoes, but he said he was happy to have been heard by the mass media.

The prince emphatically, but not convincingly, denied he had any intention of returning to Cambodia. "I'm retiring completely from politics."

"To be an aristocrat and a nationalist in Cambodia is absolutely outmoded. You must be a revolutionary communist. So I have no place there. I'll retire; I'll be a tourist."

On the weekend following his UN speech, Sihanouk was hospitalized in New York for "exhaustion." He was said to have held a late-night discussion with U.S. Ambassador to the UN Andrew Young before going into the hospital.



## REVOLUTION IN NICARAGUA

## Nicaragua left takes the initiative

By Joel Geier and Candy Martin

U.S. INTERVENTION IN Nicaragua has split the liberals away from the Sandinista guerrilla wing of the anti-Somoza opposition. The result has been a collapse of the U.S.-negotiated settlement, the weakening of the liberals, and the start of a new guerrilla offensive.

The most recent U.S. intervention began after last September's popular insurrection. *Somosocismo* was maintained only by the superior air power of the National Guard against a population barely armed with rifles. Somoza ordered the bombing of five major cities. Esteli, hardest hit, was reduced from 30,000 to 5000 people. Nicaraguans popularly refer to it as the Guernica of South America.

Washington was embarrassed. In July, Carter sent a personal letter to Somoza, praising him for "improving the human rights situation" in Nicaragua. Now Washington belatedly recognized that Somoza's usefulness had reached its end. Popular support lay decisively with the Sandinistas, whose 14-year war against the dictatorship has won them the allegiance of workers, the peasantry, and many middle-class Nicaraguans. Somoza's base of support was isolated to the American-trained national guard.

The main section of the guerrillas, the Terceristas, were represented in the FAO (*Frente Amplio Opositor*), the broad opposition front. Formed in May, the FAO combined the private industry opposition, the traditional middle-class parties and the trade unions and federations associated with the Christian and Communist parties. Also included were representatives of *Los Doce* (The Twelve), prominent intellectuals associated with the Terceristas. This popular front of businessmen and Communists, bankers and guerrillas, called for the end of Somoza and the inclusion of the Sandinista Front in the new government.

#### Washington's "solution."

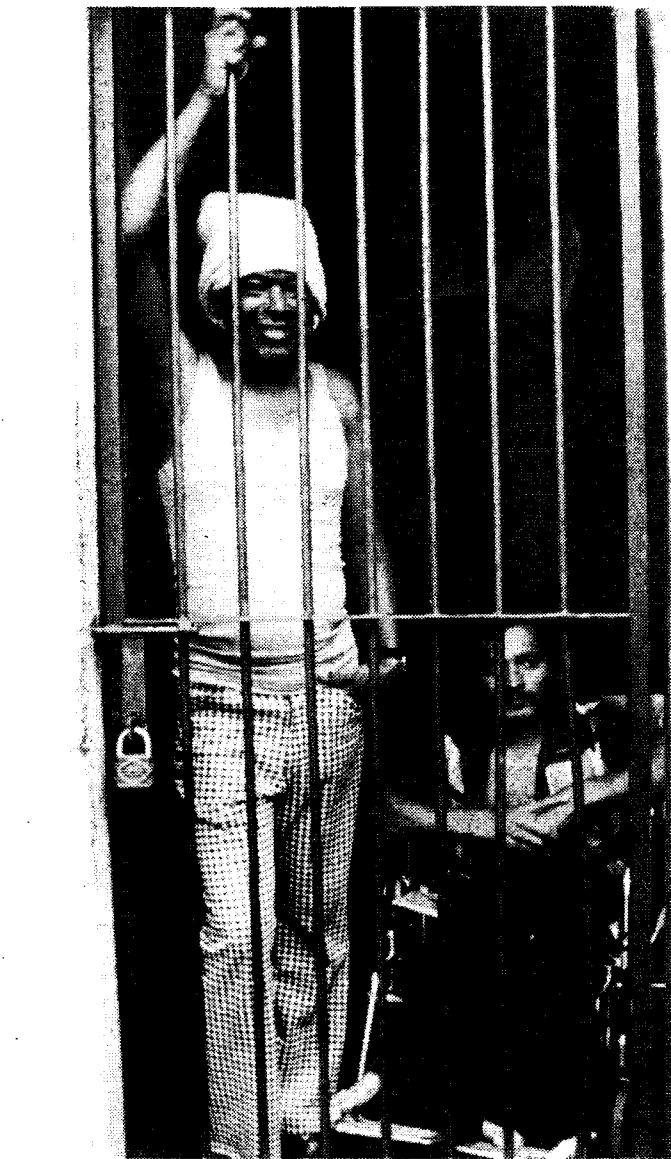
Washington, recognizing that Somoza would have to go, began implementing its own plan for a "democratic solution" that would preclude the Sandinistas from any role in the new government. To carry out this maneuver, the U.S. operated under the cover of an International Mediation Commission created by the Organization of American States (OAS), consisting of representatives from Guatemala, the Dominican Republic and the U.S. The commission eventually won the cooperation of the Broad Opposition Front and Somoza and began mediating between them for a plebiscite to settle Nicaragua's future.

The work of the commission has been extremely slow, to Somoza's advantage. He has used the time to reinforce his military strength. The National Guard of 7500 has been increased by 2000 men. Despite a U.S. embargo on arms sales, Somoza has been able to restock with weapons from Israel. According to Ernesto Cardenal, Nicaragua's poet-priest and Tercerista spokesman, the Israelis have served as a conduit for the U.S. American weapons are sold to a firm in Mexico, bought by Israel and then delivered to Somoza.

While Somoza was re-arming, the International Mediation Commission was drawing up a proposal that would give Somoza legitimacy. It called for a government of "national reconciliation" composed of Somoza's followers, the Broad Opposition and Independents, if Somoza loses the proposed plebiscite on retaining the presidency.

#### Bailing out of Broad Opposition.

The proposal had its desired effect: a split in the Broad Opposition. When the FAO accepted the plan in late October, *Los Doce* resigned, denouncing the agreement for maintaining "Somoza-ism" without



Somoza." A few other parties and unions joined *Los Doce* in walking out on the Broad Opposition. What remains of the much-weakened FAO attempted to maintain a left image by electing Luis Sanchez Sancho, head of the Communist party, as a replacement for Sergio Ramirez of *Los Doce* on the three-person executive of the FAO.

For his part, Somoza was forced to make certain concessions. The FAO had made it clear it would negotiate only if all political prisoners were freed; in December, the Mediation Commission made final an amnesty with Somoza. But even as the amnesty was announced, the National Guard continued a daily roundup of new political prisoners.

Carlos Tunnerman, of *Los Doce*, suspects that the amnesty plan could be interpreted to include Somoza himself, his family and the National Guard—all charged with genocide for the September bombings.

More immediate is the ineffectiveness of the amnesty, whose implementation began the week before Christmas. In an attempt to develop some account of the innumerable Nicaraguans who have "disappeared," those who have been captured, tortured, jailed or left in secret graves by the Guardia, the Human Rights Commission began taking depositions from friends and relatives of *desaparecidos*. A preliminary list registered more than 2000 names of captured peasants, workers and students. Jose Easteban Gonzales, director of the Human Rights Commission, estimated that a full list of political prisoners would total two or three times that number. Beyond the 300 people who were released as the amnesty began, Gonzales thought another 300 would be released. The remainder had already been killed by Somoza and the Guardia.

#### Somoza stronger.

Such "concessions" notwithstanding, the split in the opposition and the opportunity to re-arm have strengthened Somoza's hand for the next battle. Without the Sandinistas, Nicaragua's bourgeois opposition lacks both popular support and armed power. It suffers the same difficulty it has faced historically. It is too weak to both create a stable alternative to *Somosocismo* and to be able to repress any increasingly radicalized mass move-

ment. It is for this reason that the anti-Somoza bourgeoisie has been abandoned repeatedly by the U.S. in years past, despite State Department sentiment that Somoza might have to be replaced.

Fearing isolation and weakness from the Sandinistas, the Broad Opposition insisted that if Somoza loses the plebi-

### Mediation split the anti-Somoza opposition—but its failure has strengthened the offensive of a newly-united Sandinista left.

scite, he and his family will have to leave Nicaragua. They also demanded that the plebiscite be carried out under international auspices to prevent another fraudulent Somoza election. These terms were accepted by the Mediation Commission but rejected by Somoza, whose family holdings in Nicaragua include 25 to 30 percent of all arable land and the 26 largest corporations, including major communications outlets, the airlines, and the port, amounting to a reputed fortune of \$500 million.

The day after the Mediation Commission announced its final plebiscite proposal, the headlines in *Novedades*, Somoza's newspaper, read "No foreign intervention!" Somoza maintained his rejection of the plebiscite despite the arrival of Gen. McAuliffe, Commander in Chief of the U.S. Southern Command, with orders for him to accept or face the withdrawal of the American military mission and possibly loss of recognition by the U.S.

#### New offensive.

With that, the negotiations collapsed. The State Department still hopes to revive them, but meanwhile another solution, a new offensive by the three tendencies of the *Frente Sandinista* is underway.

The new offensive started the week before Christmas as the Mediation Commission was drawing up its final proposal. It was the political answer of the Sandinistas to a settlement dictated by the U.S. Heightened guerrilla clashes with the na-



tional guard around *penas blancas* near the Costa Rican border was the opening volley of what, by the end of December, had become a new offensive centered in the northern mountains. Nightly battles between the Front and the Guardia in Leon, Nicaragua's second largest city, saw the guerrillas winning.

Preceding the offensive was a new political and military agreement between the three Sandinista tendencies. In a communique released Dec. 9, signed by the Prolonged Popular War (GPP), the *Proletarios* and the Urban Resistance Section of the Terceristas, the three groups stated that "we will unite our forces to take the armed revolutionary struggle forward..." They ended by calling for the strengthening of the *Movimiento Pueblo Unido* (MPU), created in July. The MPU's formation followed a previous tactical agreement between the three tendencies. But until the December communique, only the *Proletarios* and the GPP had been active in building it, with the Terceristas maintaining a marginal role.

The MPU is a left-wing coalition that includes 18 labor, women's and student organizations. Most important, it has the support of the urban Committees of Civil Defense, the only strong grass-roots organizations in the working class barrios.

Although the Terceristas have the greatest mass support in the country because of a predominantly military organization, they have usually lacked structures for mass mobilization. Through the MPU they will attempt mass involvement in the struggle to overthrow Somoza.

This shift to the left by the Terceristas represents their growing awareness that their previous alliance with the liberal bourgeoisie had led to the deadend of the mediation.

The beginnings of a new Tercerista strategy was underscored on Dec. 18 when members of *Los Doce* who had taken refuge in the Mexican embassy when they abandoned the mediation talks, left the embassy to resume public political activity in Nicaragua. They used the occasion to call for the formation of a new Patriotic Front, consisting of the Sandinista, the MPU and those sections of the FAO prepared to break with the mediations.

The political program of the MPU is  
*Continued on page 18.*





# THE ATLANTIC CITY GAMBLE

BY ROBERT BELL

PHOTOS BY MICHAEL MERCANTI

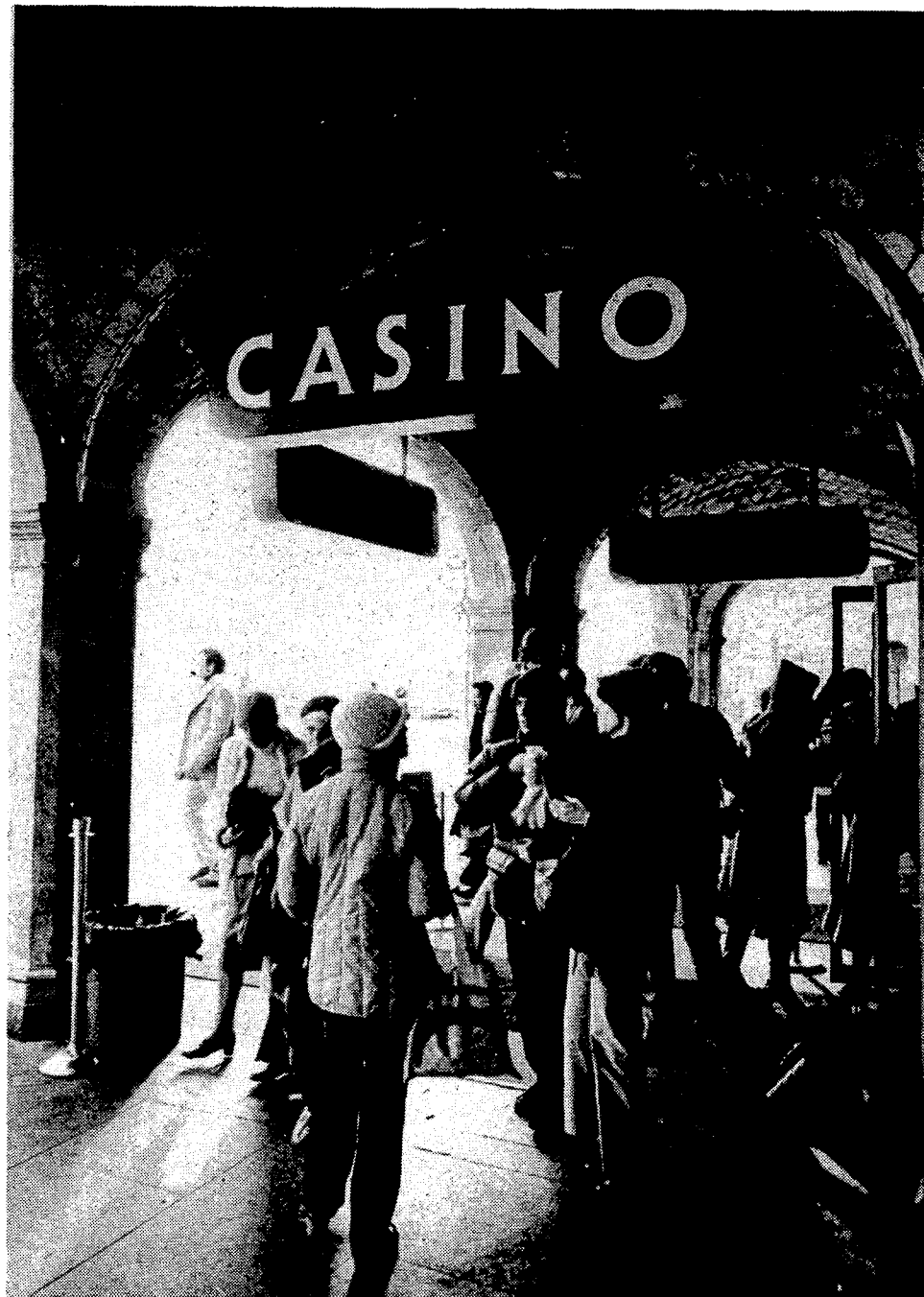
**F**ROM THE COCKTAIL LOUNGE above the East Coast's first legal casino, the scene below resembles a giant beehive. In a room the size of a football field, wall-to-wall crowds swarm and buzz over each other for a chance at the games.

In the room's center, patrons are lined up four deep for blackjack and craps, even deeper at a thousand slot machines that are now legally devouring nickels, quarters and silver dollars in some place other than Nevada. It's a huge room with no windows and no clocks, done up in deep red, orange and chocolate brown, a place where drinks are served at all hours—an endless, almost timeless procession of people waiting to risk their money on games of chance.

Six months ago, before a firm known as Resorts International opened on Atlantic City's famed Boardwalk, nobody knew what to make of the move to bring big casinos east from Las Vegas. In 1974 New Jersey voters had rejected the idea of casinos in Atlantic City, the town they used to call "Queen of Resorts" and "The World's Playground" before its 25-year decline into a moldering seaside ghetto. But two years later, a well-financed referendum campaign by a coalition of labor and business, with support from the state NAACP and most of the state's clergy, convinced voters that casinos would be a way to revive Atlantic City's tourist economy and provide tax revenues to the state.

Atlantic City lies within a few hours' drive from 20 million people; if the experiment works it could become the most popular gambling resort in the world. And that could mean close to a billion dollars in new investment, construction and jobs over the next decade for a city just about given up for dead.

Today, when Resorts International executives gather in the cocktail lounge, they look down on a goldmine, the busiest and most profitable casino in history, a harbinger of what *Business Week* and Merrill Lynch label a major new growth industry, and of what New Jersey residents are realizing is in their backyard to stay.





Consider these numbers. Since it opened in May, Resorts International's Atlantic City casino has averaged a daily "win" (the total amount lost by gamblers) of more than \$600,000. The most profitable Las Vegas casino, the mammoth MGM-Grand, has an annual win of \$83.8 million, or about \$200,000 per day. Resorts took in \$135 million in its first six months and expects to gross about \$250 million from gamblers in its first fiscal year.

An average casino on the Las Vegas strip earns a pre-tax profit of between 7 and 14 percent. New Jersey officials estimate 49 percent of Resorts' first-year revenues will be pure profit, a function of the monopoly position the company has in the eastern market and the nearly 100 percent occupancy of its tables and slot machines since opening day. Officials estimate at least 400,000 people passed through the casino during peak weekends last summer.

At that rate, the Florida-based company, which also operates a casino in the Bahamas, will recover in one year its entire \$50 million start-up investment in Atlantic City. This one cavernous room will boost the company's net sales and operating revenues from a 1977 level of \$15.9 million to more than \$95 million this year, with an unheard of 17-fold increase in its third quarter earnings.

It was the promise of these numbers—a euphoric vision of profits, jobs and growth—that sold New Jersey voters in 1976. The campaign rhetoric had been lofty: the state would keep the casinos free of organized crime and protect the gamblers; the city would use its expanded tax base to rebuild its neighborhoods. Guided by an aggressive and imaginative planning process, casino growth would not change the essential character of the town, just improve it.

#### Atlantic City pays.

But the profits in New Jersey's get-rich-quick scheme have not been without significant costs, for there are other numbers in the Atlantic City equation. Like the immediate 25 percent rise in crime and the 78 percent rise one official predicts for the area by 1982, or the hundreds of people who have been displaced from their homes and the thousands more threatened by the skyrocketing property values bred by the greed and speculation that operate in a boom economy.

The new casino industry is expected to double the population of the city and surrounding county and require an additional 72,000 housing units by 1990, when 12 casinos should be operating. A Rutgers University planning study concludes that, if current sprawl trends continue, the growth will consume an additional 64,000 acres of the sensitive coastal region and send the cost of housing beyond the reach of low and middle-income families. The study argues the acreage could be reduced to 21,000 through the rational planning process it finds conspicuously absent.

To groups such as Gamblers Anonymous, the new industry spells disaster for millions of compulsive gamblers and poor people within easy reach of the resort. The Atlantic City Rescue Mission expects its daily case load to grow from about 50 to as many as 450. The local Travelers Aid has had more than 600 cases of broke and stranded gamblers since May.

Economists have long noted the size of bets in casinos tends to rise with the rate of inflation, and that betting doesn't abate during recessions, when gamblers can least afford it. A congressional study also shows that gambling is regressively related to income, that people in low-income groups gamble a higher percentage of their income than do people in higher income categories. That is especially true of low-income Nevada residents, who aren't precluded from gambling by the high cost of travel to Las Vegas. To the extent that gambling revenues are taxed, those levies are more regressive than sales and excise taxes.

"The survey results tend to support the arguments of those who claim that establishing Nevada-type gambling in densely populated areas will foster participation by those who can least afford it," concluded the Commission on the Review

of a National Policy Toward Gambling in 1974.

Despite its enormous initial success, the East's first casino has internal problems of its own. Resorts International has been cited with numerous violations of New Jersey's neophyte casino regulations while operating under a temporary six-month permit granted last May. In December, the New Jersey attorney general, in a report detailing the company's past association with organized crime figures in the Bahamas, went so far as to recommend against permanent licensing when the permit expires next month. Observers doubt the state will bite the hand that has been feeding it by denying Resorts a permanent license, but many question New Jersey's long-term ability to regulate such a unique and frequently tainted industry.

So while Resorts International rakes in record revenues in the heart of the most densely populated area in the nation, the region's poor and working people, who were promised so much during the casino campaign and were the key to its triumph at the polls, are wondering just what to expect from this top-down development, one that looks to many like a case of the state promoting an industry whose profits to private investors are exceeded only by its social costs.

Illegal gambling has always been big business, estimated at anywhere from \$100 billion to \$500 billion a year, much of it controlled by organized crime. But 44 states now have at least one form of legal gambling. Two allow casinos, 14 conduct lotteries, 32 allow horse racing, 14 feature dog tracks, 39 permit bingo and four host jai alai.

*Business Week*, in a recent special re-

port on gambling, estimated bettors wagered at least \$15 billion in these legal forms in 1977, an 8 percent growth rate from 1976. State and local governments collected \$1.6 billion in taxes on the bets, a 7.7 percent increase. Among the economically ailing states of the Northeast, site of ten of the 14 state lotteries, the legal numbers game took in 24 percent more in 1977 than 1976. Casino gambling, confined until Memorial Day to Nevada, showed a 20 percent gain in 1977, with an additional 20 percent increase in the first quarter of 1978. Last summer, fueled by Resorts International's success, gambling stocks triggered one of the wildest speculative runs in stock market history.

Some say legal casinos will continue to become politically acceptable because they provide states with a source of revenue less painful than taxation in an age of tax-slashing propositions. That is largely a myth. New Jersey's take of casino revenues is 8 percent, earmarked as tax relief for senior citizens. Even if Atlantic City becomes as successful as Las Vegas, the state's share would amount to maybe \$120 million a year, a mere 3 percent of its budget. Gambling revenues contribute about one-third of the Nevada budget, but Nevada's population is only about 8 percent that of New Jersey. One study shows that if all states legalized every form of gambling, it would amount to only a 2 percent gain in total state revenues. When casinos were legalized in New Jersey, it was a boon mostly to those who would own them.

Those who plan to own them in Atlantic City include Caesar's World, operator of the profitable Caesars Palace in

Las Vegas, the Chicago-based Bally Manufacturing Corp., maker of 90 percent of the world's slot machines, Playboy and Penthouse, the magazine company with an interest in London casinos. And, since Resorts' early performance, every major Nevada casino company, including Harrah's, Hilton, Golden Nugget and MGM, has purchased land and announced plans. Even giant hotel chains like Ramada Inns and Holiday Inns, both of which had long-standing corporate policies to stay out of the casino business, reversed those policies and entered the race. (Holiday Inns' chairman resigned over his board's decision on moral grounds.)

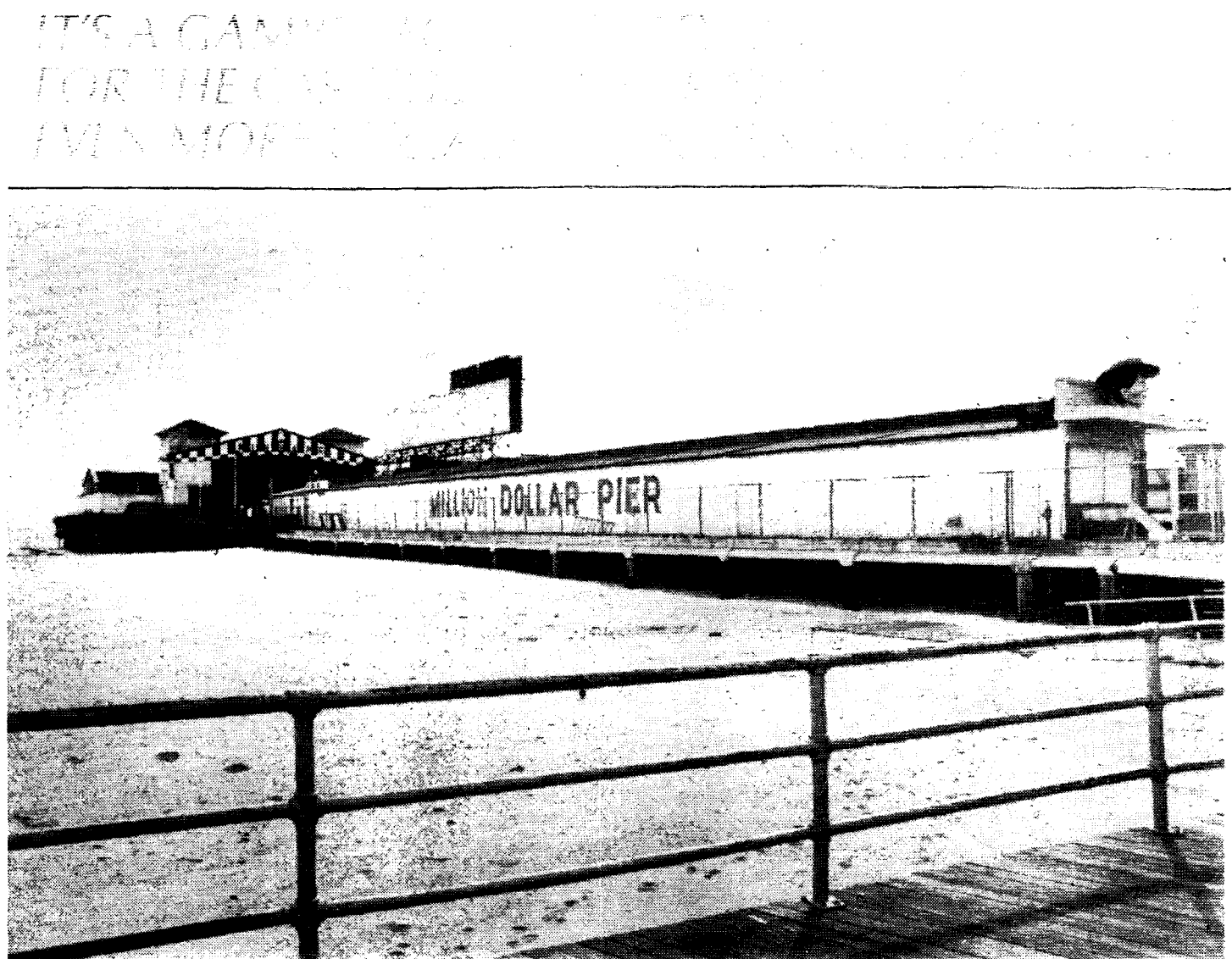
Despite the apparent bonanza, major financial institutions are skeptical of backing casino ventures, a combination of the complexity of the business and gambling's historical dominance by disreputable persons. The effect will be to preserve the new casino markets for those companies with track records—the Nevada firms and the giant entertainment companies. In Las Vegas many got started with money from Howard Hughes' empire or loans from the mob-dominated Teamsters Central States Pension Fund.

"All of us are looking on Atlantic City as an opportunity, not as a threat to our operations in Las Vegas," says Golden Nugget president Stephen Wynn.

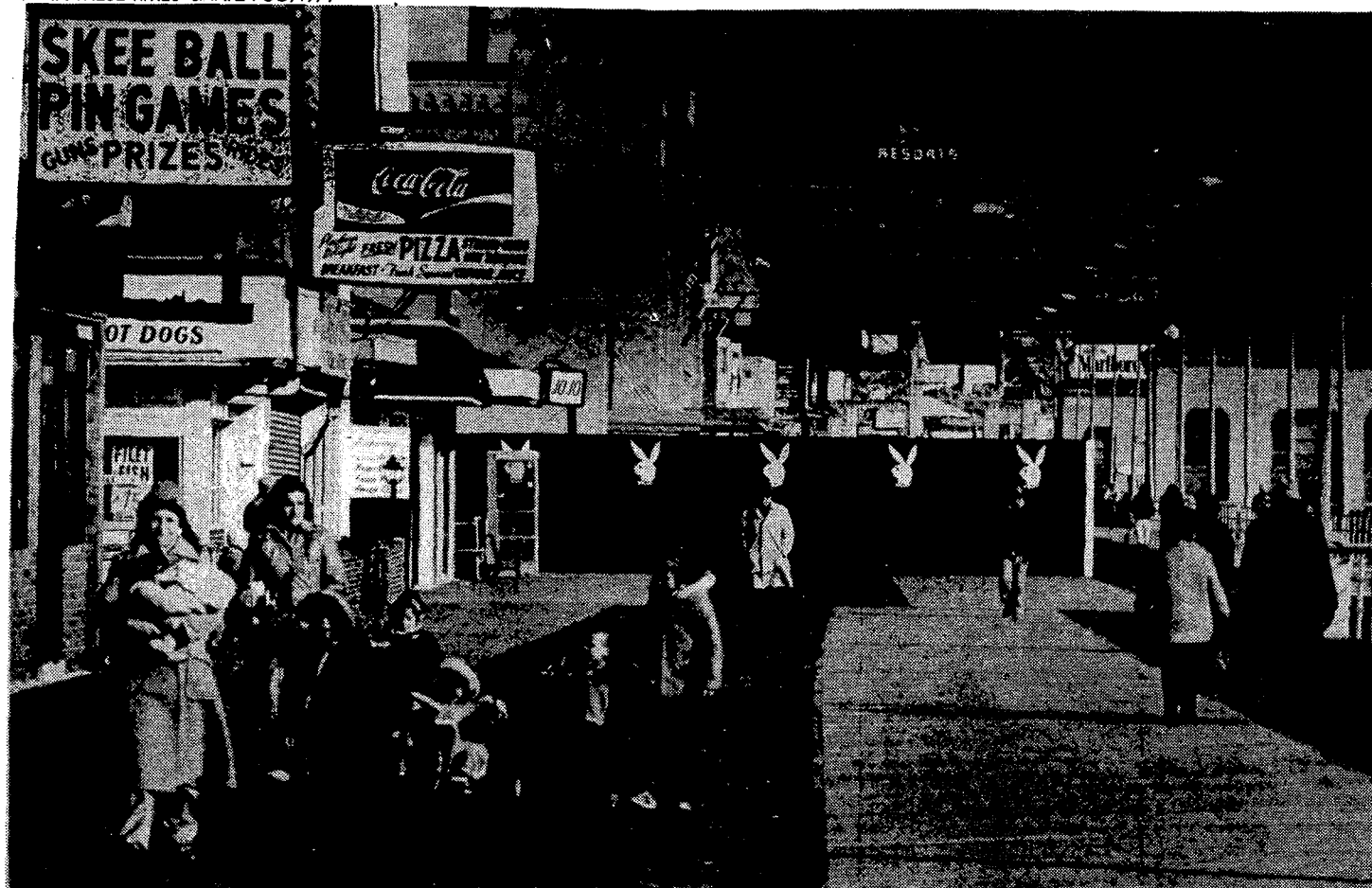
#### The city's past.

In its heyday before World War II, Atlantic City was a fun spot for the rich and a vacation spot still accessible to the middle class. The town that gave us "Monopoly" featured some of the grandest hotels in the country. W.C. Fields used

*Continued on next page.*







# ATLANTIC CITY

to play here. Abbott and Costello got their start on the famous Steel Pier, where daredevil women dove into a pool of water on horseback. Along the Boardwalk was a myriad of shops. Along the avenues there had always been backroom gambling parlors. Long before legal casinos, Atlantic City was a town that survived by separating the suckers from their bucks.

But soon after the war, the growing availability of air travel made more exotic vacation spots affordable to the middle class. The city lost ground in the convention business. Hotels fell into disrepair. Some closed, others were torn down. By the early 1970s the city's unemployment rate ranged from 7 percent during the summer to 14 percent in the off-season. It approached 40 percent among the city's black population, which had originally been attracted there by the availability of hotel service jobs.

Today it is a city of 40,000, with a housing stock that is 20 percent public or subsidized, a rate of lead paint poisoning in children four times the national average, and one of the worst crime rates in the state. Many neighborhoods are nothing but block after block of boarded up storefronts, rubble-caked vacant lots and ramshackle Victorian tenements with complexions like rotting driftwood. Nearly a quarter of the city's residents are "senior citizens" on fixed incomes. Thirty-four percent of all households earn less than \$7,500 annually.

The competition for profits among casino invaders has bred the harshest reality of the new era for resort residents, a squeeze on tenants caused by rising land values as developers compete for the little available land in town, actually only a tiny island which runs 48 blocks along the shoreline and stretches inland ten blocks at its widest point.

Boardwalk property now sells for \$15,000 a front foot. One beachfront hotel which had been closed for 12 years was bought for \$900,000 in 1976, sold for \$9 million a year later and sold again for \$20 million last summer, all without any improvements to the building. A secret developer, acting through a local real estate agent, has offered 72 homeowners \$100,000 each to sell their homes, most of which were worth \$15,000 two years ago.

In poor and working class neighborhoods, speculators have scooped up hundreds of thousands of dollars in tax liens and direct purchases of slum properties. Some tenants have been evicted, others forced out by rent increases. Others are watching their buildings go further downhill until the landlord gets the best offer, when these buildings will make way for luxury apartments and condominiums.

The problem reached a crisis last summer when two apartment buildings hous-

ing nearly 400 senior citizens were bought by casino developers and the tenants given a timetable to leave. Residents of black neighborhoods contend it has been happening there quietly for two years.

"Anytime there's even one eviction in this town, it's a crisis," says Atlantic City relocation officer Kenneth Wright. "The housing here is so bad we have no place to put people."

The solution has been left to Atlantic City's planning consultants from Washington, who were given a \$500,000 contract to develop a casino-era master plan. Planner Angelos C. Demetriou has since received an additional \$500,000 from state and federal grants and other sources, but in the original budget for the master plan only \$15,000 was set aside for housing and social service planning, and the housing and relocation plan was among the last sections to be developed.

"The decision to delay identification of needed housing represents a callous disregard for the housing needs and interests of minorities, senior citizens and other low and moderate income persons," the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights said of the proposed master plan in a report last year. "The ultimate result of the failure to plan housing will be systematic exclusion of these persons, primarily minorities and elderly, from the city."

Even the New Jersey Governor's Cabinet Committee on Atlantic City suggested portions of the plan might be illegal, notably a proposal to rezone for casino development six blocks currently occupied by low-income Hispanic tenants, without a suitable relocation plan.

"The master plan suggested casino sites prior to any plan to set aside land for housing or acquire it at pre-casino prices," said Michael Hawkins, Rutgers University professor, who is part of a planning team studying Atlantic City. "Now the acquisition price of what little land is still available is six times what it could have cost with a little foresight and planning. The people who voted for gambling are being told they've made the land too valuable for them to stay there."

By abandoning early its rhetorical commitment to a planning process that would protect people, New Jersey has reverted to the classic scenario of helter-skelter development ruled by private interests and the "free" market.

There are local officials, such as former Atlantic City Housing Authority Director William Downey, who feel that's enough. It was Downey who sold 56 acres of vacant urban renewal land for \$5.6 million to Resorts International, land on which they plan another \$100 million casino hotel, a parking garage and luxury housing just blocks from the worst housing in the city. Downey resigned last month to become executive director of the Atlantic City Casino Association.

The success of the first casino can at least be measured in jobs. Resorts added almost 2500 people to its payroll in the last nine months. With an estimated \$200-million in new construction planned within the next six months, Southern New Jersey's conservative building trades unions, some of which have been nearly 100 percent unemployed in recent years, are looking forward to prosperity. But black workers have had to fight at every step to see that affirmative action guidelines for the new industry are followed. At one point, when the state found contractors at Resorts not in compliance, white workers were laid off to raise the minority percentage to the required 20 percent.

Inside the casino, Resorts met its obligation by hiring more blacks at the lowest levels of employment, the kinds of rock-bottom jobs they have always held in this service economy. Women workers complain of sexual blackmail and harassment by supervisors and executives. And when discontented dealers tried to elect a union three months after the casino opened, the National Labor Relations Board found management guilty of unfair labor practices and ordered a new election.

Ultimately responsible for how the new industry conducts itself as well as its impact on Atlantic City's neighborhoods is the state's fledgling Casino Control Commission and its investigative arm, the Division of Gaming Enforcement. But some say the commission is concerned more with guaranteeing profits to the first casino than it is with enforcing its regulations, at the expense of strict law enforcement, the gambler as consumer and perhaps even the city's long-term economic health.

Resorts was permitted to open last May with a temporary, six-month permit, an amendment to the original legislation rammed through to allow a quick opening. It was needed because the state's investigation of the company's suitability for a permanent license was dragging, a problem sources say was a combination of the DGE's incompetence and the company's checkered background.

The commission also waived a number of requirements for Resorts, resulting in an understaffed casino during the crowded opening weeks. More than half the casino-hotel's employees were permitted to work without required state clearance. The commission also went along with Resorts' request for high minimum bets at many of its tables. The state has been equally generous with other potential operators, approving several projects that don't actually meet the legislation's guidelines but were designed to open quickly and get in on the monopoly share Resorts is reaping.

In the meantime, Resorts International has committed some violations of the state's regulations that even the commission couldn't ignore. Slot machines failed to pay out the required percentage through most of the summer, despite official assurances that the problem had been cor-

rected. There were numerous findings of poor accounting practices, culminating in the August discovery that \$180,000 in cash had been stolen from the slot machines. In October, the commission determined that two of the company's top executives had lied about many of the problems. Finally, in December, the New Jersey attorney general's report traced Resorts' history of criminal association and recommended against permanent licensing, a move that could force the casino into state-appointed receivership.

The attorney general's report noted Resorts' involvement in the Bahamas with members of mob financier Meyer Lansky's inner circle and its employment of several executives with questionable pasts. One, Seymour Alter, has admitted bribing a judge and supplying paid female companions to Bahamian officials; he was also implicated during the Watergate hearings as a bagman for Richard Nixon.

All this puts the Casino Control Commission in a difficult position as it conducts hearings on Resorts' permanent license, hearings which began in early January and are expected to continue until mid-February. The commission is already under fire for its policy of political expediency and would be in for more heat if it licenses Resorts after its performance to date. But if it fails to issue a license and appoints a receiver, it will be a bad precedent for other operators with similar past links to organized crime.

Caesars World is under investigation by the Securities and Exchange Commission for Pocono Mountain real estate deals it made with Alvin Malnik, a Miami attorney alleged to be an associate of Meyer Lansky. Bally has had a past association with North Jersey Mafia chieftain Gerardo Cantena. Even Jimmy Hoffa's former lawyer, Morris Shenker, who operates the Dunes Hotel and Country Club in Las Vegas, may soon seek a license in New Jersey.

Tainted casino operators aren't the only crime figures who will play a part in Atlantic City's future. Officials are most concerned about the infiltration of "secondary" businesses, such as restaurants, laundries and vending companies. "It's already happening," one official says. One widely held theory is that New York's Gambino crime family and Philadelphia's Bruno family have reached a semi-formal agreement to divide Atlantic City's spoils and preserve mob peace. Resorts International hosted two of the Gambinos to a free weekend of drinks, meals and gambling in July.

Despite these problems, most observers expect the state to give Resorts a permanent license.

"I think New Jersey is headed for disaster," says Walter Tyminski, editor of the gambling industry magazine *Rouge et Noir* and a constant critic of Resorts' Atlantic City operations. "The Casino Control Commission has been making decisions strictly on political and economic considerations. I think people are beginning to realize decriminalization of casinos in New Jersey was for the benefit of the industry, not the people."

Tyminski theorizes that most of Resorts' "win" has come from New Jersey residents, and that with company payments to out-of-state suppliers and stockholders, there may eventually be a net outflow of revenue from New Jersey.

The state's uncertain handling of casino gambling may have been partially responsible for the defeat in November of a casino referendum in Florida, as well as gambling proposals in several other states. "There's no doubt, at least in Florida, that people are watching Atlantic City, to see if they can run a clean operation," says Golden Nugget's Wynn.

Nonetheless, industry analysts predict casinos will eventually be legal in Florida, with New York, Massachusetts and perhaps other northeastern states. Some of these states are contemplating the idea of operating their own casinos rather than taxing private operations, but most are expected to follow New Jersey's lead. That should make the industry happy. As one Justice Department official notes: "They can fix the rules so that a profit is certain, and no other business gets a guaranteed profit."

Robert Bell was a reporter until last month for the daily *The Press of Atlantic City*.



## EDITORIAL

## Brownian motion: redlining public needs

Judging from California Gov. Edmund Brown Jr.'s second inaugural address earlier this month, his presidential ambitions are leading him to out-Carter Carter on the issue of taxes and government spending (see page 5). Brown's ultra-Carterization narrows further the ground for raising, debating, and effecting basic policy alternatives within the existing two-party system.

Brown himself acknowledged the urgent need for basic policy alternatives in noting that "the roller coaster of inflation followed by recession is out of control," that over the past decade "leaders of both parties have tried in vain to slow its reckless course," and that "unprecedented...political paralysis...makes effective decisions impossible."

Yet Brown's proposals for state and federal constitutional amendments to limit government spending and balance government budgets could only prolong the paralysis.

Such amendments could be passed, if at all, only after extended political conflict that would deepen the impasse and bitterly divide the people against themselves. If passed, they would strait-jacket government and the entire political process in dealing with the problems of modern society. They would introduce a constitutional rigidity far exceeding that bequeathed by the founders of 1787.

The last attempt at imposing such constitutional rigidity—Justice Roger Taney's *Dred Scott* decision of 1857—accelerated the trend toward civil war.

From any angle, Brown's proposals would, as Tom Paine remarked in his own time, stifle future generations with the dead hand of the past. They would inappropriately clothe passing policy proclivities with the finality of organic law, something even the founders wisely avoided.

Brown is no fire-eater, but in seeking to occupy the center-right of the political spectrum he is playing with fire. Before long he will either have to fan the flames, or put them out by eating his words.

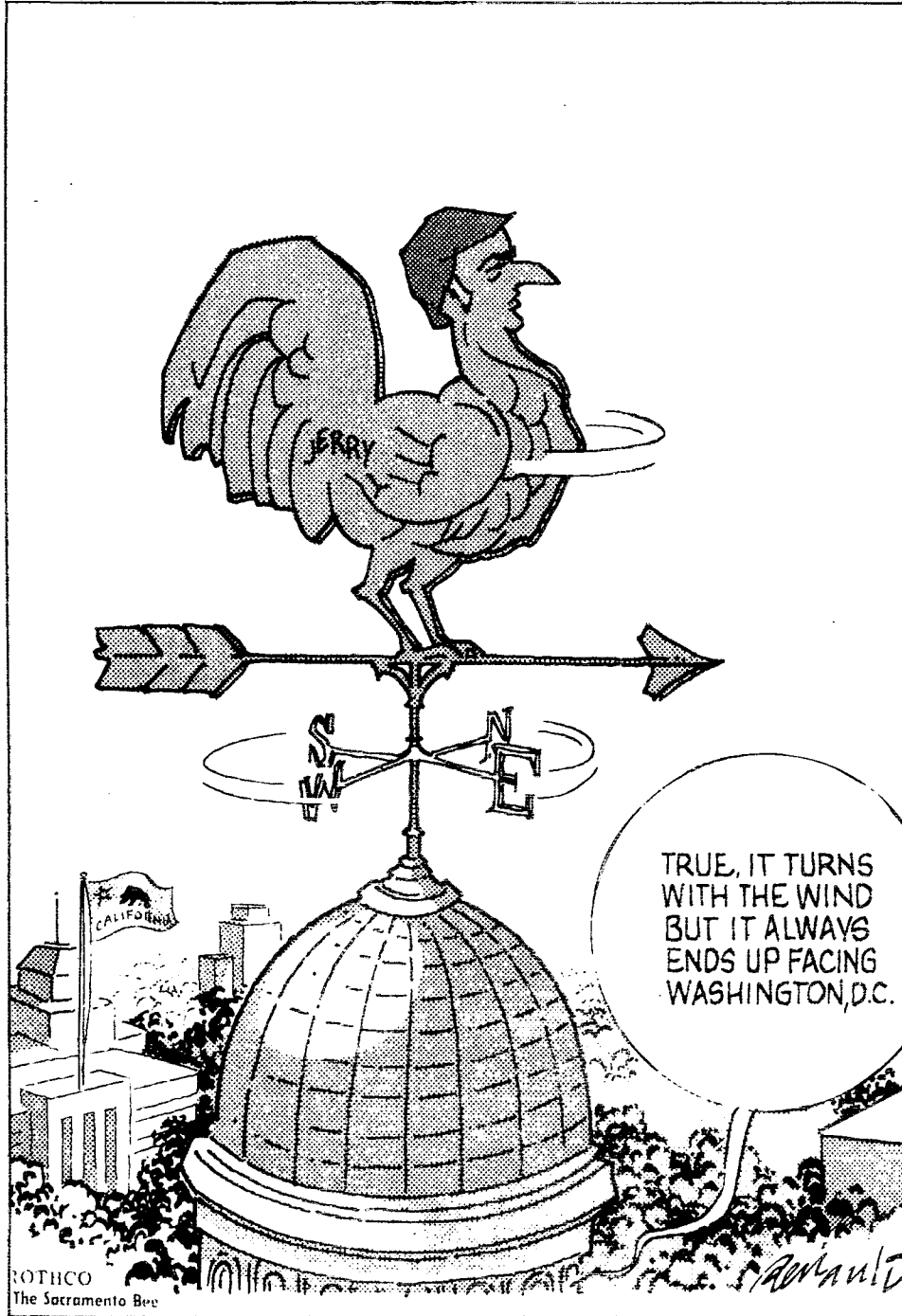
Since by training, the Governor is nothing if not shrewd and logical, he must know all this. And, therefore, he must also know that his inaugural address puts presidential grandstanding and his own ambition ahead of genuine concern for the nation's future and its general welfare.

#### Brown's case.

In his address, Brown places the onus for inflation on government spending expanding faster than the inflation rate and real economic growth. Since he says nothing about the sources of inflation in the private sector, something even Carter has acknowledged, he is scapegoating the public sector in order to leave the corporate power structure undisturbed.

Brown might have a case if government social spending contributed to demand outrunning supply of production capacity and labor. Neither he nor anyone else can show that. The "stagflation" of the past decade resides precisely in prices rising in spite of the persistence of excess capacity and unemployment.

He might have a case if he could show that economic growth would be greater without substantial government spending. The historical record shows just the opposite. Nor can he show that government spending is inessential to vital public needs, such as education, health care, social security, mass transit and other human services. Military spending may not relate to public or human needs, but that is the one type of massive government



**Brown's scapegoating the public sector is like blaming a cold on the handkerchief. It diverts attention from the corporate sources of social disorder.**

spending (especially inflationary in impact and growing faster than the inflation rate) that Brown ignores.

Brown says that government spending contributes to the rate of inflation. But he avoids telling us its cause.

#### Private sector inefficiencies.

That would require going beyond specious argument to plain talk. The governor would have to talk about rising housing costs, energy prices, food prices, health costs, all of which have little to do with the volume of government spending, but much to do with the *shape* of government policy serving private sector business interests. He would have to talk about administered pricing, under-capacity production, and excess profits policies of the corporations. That is, he would have to draw attention to the corporate inefficiency and aggressiveness of the private sector as the source of inflation that, in the first place, forces government to out-maneuver, spend more, and tax more.

The Governor would have to ask the obvious question: whether the problem

resides not with government spending as such, but with an inefficient corporate economy and with government policies dedicated to its preservation. Brown's scapegoating the public sector is like blaming the sniffles on the handkerchief and cutting off the nose to spite the cold.

In a modern industrial society like the U.S., where less and less labor is required for goods production, it is only natural that more and more labor, and hence spending, will go into services, and into human services not suited or safely left to private enterprise for profit. That is the mark of progress in rising productivity. The test of government spending, then, is whether it exceeds public need for services and employment. Brown avoids that test, as he must, since by that standard non-military government spending may be misallocated, but it is not excessive.

But all Brown simply asserts, as if it were obvious, that government spending is rising faster than the inflation rate and real economic growth, and is therefore to be cut. But if real growth of pub-

lic services and public employment is natural and necessary to the progress and welfare of a mature industrial society, then given a private sector that generates ever-rising prices along with artificial constraints on production, government spending must exceed both the inflation and real growth rates. That implies, however, that it is the private sector, not government spending as such that is the source of economic malfunction and hence social disorder.

#### Brown's dialectics.

Brown finds "the cause of today's political malaise" in the "fundamental contradiction between what political leaders have said...and what they have actually done." Gratifying as it is to see a pragmatic America politician seeking to discover a "fundamental contradiction," the Governor is looking in the wrong place.

The "fundamental contradiction" lies in the conflict between public needs and corporate power in the private sector, between a technology of high productivity and a business system profiting on artificial scarcities, between a formal political democracy and a *de facto* highly concentrated political-economic oligarchy, between newly emergent social relations and an increasingly obsolescent corporate property-investment system: in sum, between new social needs and a party politics and hence government policies incapable of addressing those needs as long as they serve the interests of preserving the corporate order. That is the reason for the "contradiction" between what politicians say and what they do.

According to a recent ABC News/Harris survey, the people may not see eye-to-eye with Brown's dialectic. Though by 50 to 47 percent they favor increased military spending from concern with Soviet might, they nevertheless would cut military spending (Soviet "threat" notwithstanding) rather than cut federal aid to education (52-39 percent), or federal health programs (54-37 percent), or federal veterans' benefits (48-40 percent).

The source of the "political malaise" and the "political paralysis" that Brown cites, more to exploit than to dispel them, lies in people's desire for better, expanded public services, equitable taxes, full employment and stable prices, on the one hand, and, on the other, the unwillingness and inability of major party politicians and government leaders to satisfy such desires as long as they remain dedicated to preserving the corporate order.

#### A left constitutional initiative.

If there is to be a move toward amending the state and federal constitutions, let the left propose amendments of our own, such as the expansion of human rights to include full employment, free education through college, and guaranteed public health and medical care. We might propose, also, public ownership of the arms industry and a lid on military spending, and public ownership of the giant corporations and banks. Short of that, we might call for constitutional amendments providing for the expansion of the public sector into wealth-producing activity and taxation of the rich, as the way to ensure full employment without government deficit spending.

Nothing else, proposing constitutional amendments such as these might make them seem, not to mention the fact that, they would be made before making democratic call for constitutional conventions. It might even, unlike Brown's call for redlining public needs, begin to put a end to America's political malaise.



# LETTERS

## STRONG FEELINGS

**A** MEN" TO CLANCY SIGAL (*ITT*, JAN. 10) for his astute observations about just what we socialists *must* start to confront about ourselves! We particularly agree with his reference to "Herr Erhard" and the fact that far too many lefties have been sucked in by Werner Erhard and est, as my husband and I have just recently concluded a five-and-a-half-year relationship with that "humanitarian con game" which *looked* so good while we were part of it.

We also agree with Sigal about many of our "problems" as socialists—and even *ITT* is not exempt, as a socialist publication, for I wrote to you some weeks ago in reference to a "flaw" in your editing of a letter from us that appeared in print—"A word for est," Nov. 22, 1978) and we never received a reply from you.

So we feel strongly about what Sigal says in reference to a socialist's most "prized possessions"—for it's that uncertainty and doubt and uncomfortableness—and I might add total outrage—toward a system that attracts such "cult-like" figures as Jim Jones and Werner Erhard—and we Marxists along with them—that will always keep a real socialism from happening in a society like this!

—Angela & Ted Mohr  
San Francisco

## ROCK ON

**T**HIS LETTER IS IN RESPONSE TO CHALMERS Stewart's letter on rock music (*ITT*, Dec. 20, 1978).

Stewart says that rock music and sports are part of an expanded pharmacopia of mind-bending "drugs" that bespeak the deepening corruption of our times. He also believes they are subverters of rational thought. He claims that a socialist publication should not lend itself to such "opiates." This man must think, we are forced to conclude, that a just socialist society would be "cleansed" of such subversive elements.

It should hardly need pointing out that such broad condemnations of recreation and a form of contemporary music are extremely dangerous when realized by any government. A democratic socialist party or government cannot rightly support the restrictions Stewart advocates. It smacks of Hitler, who forbade the playing of high notes on the trumpet because that had been popularized by Louis Armstrong, an "inferior" black man.

I am surprised that a progressive publication such as yours would print a letter advocating totalitarianism the way that Stewart does. If the editors do not come out against that letter, or otherwise explain its being printed, I will stop buying this newspaper.

—J.W. van Scoyoc  
La Jolla, Calif.

**Editor's Note:** Please don't stop buying *IN THESE TIMES*. We can't afford to lose a subscriber. And, anyway, as you may have noticed, Chalmers was critical of us for reviewing rock, but we still do it. And then, look at it this way: Hitler didn't like to see letters with which he disagreed being published. We do, both so that our readers can know what other readers think, and to stimulate thought.

## BEWARE—TAKE HEART

**T**HIS IS TO ALERT IN *THESE TIMES* readers that a new bill, similar to Senate Bill 1437, which passed by the U.S. Senate last year but died, as it deserved to, in the House Judiciary Committee, may be introduced again in Congress.

S.1437 was the most comprehensive attack on the Bill of Rights the country has ever seen. It threatened free speech,

free assembly, and the free press, just to name a few. It would have given the government broad dictatorial powers to suppress dissent, increased state control over individual and political activity, and moved society closer to a police state.

Let's not allow those who will be pushing such a bill to succeed. Members of Congress should be deluged with letters of protest in no uncertain terms that the Bill of Rights should be preserved, not weakened.

Now that the certified official tally of the votes in the recent general election has been made, the count shows the Socialist Labor Party candidate for Congress from the 25th Congressional District here in New York received a total of 679 votes, a gain of 49 more votes than the unofficial figures that I quoted in my letter (*ITT*, Dec. 20, 1978).

This shows voters will cast their ballots for the Socialist Labor Party program when the party appears on the ballot.

—Nathan Pressman  
Ellenville, N.Y.

## FRASER FOR PRESIDENT?

**D**AVID MOBERG'S ARTICLE (*ITT*, DEC. 27, 1978) about Michael Harrington for President and the endorsement of that prospect by the DSOC Organizing Committee suggest a different nominee representing similar policy and objectives.

I propose the candidacy of Douglas Fraser, president of the UAW. I believe the argument will be self-evident to people along the lines of a left-of-center candidacy within the Democratic Party. I do not intend by this to denigrate Michael Harrington in any way. Nor do I think Fraser's candidacy would attract more support from labor leaders, some of whom would react negatively out of rivalry and jealousy.

The main argument for Fraser is the symbolism regarding labor's role (even if that role has not yet matured) in a left-of-center coalition that his candidacy would represent.

—James H. Durkin  
Forest Hills, N.Y.

## COUNT HIM IN

**I**RICHLI ENJOY READING MARK NAI-son's articles in *IN THESE TIMES*. His reflections on race and basketball have been right on.

Count me as a regular and avid reader of his column.

—Ron Cretaro  
Asst. Basketball Coach  
Trinity College  
Hartford, Ct.

## COUNT HIM OUT

**P**LEASE CANCEL MY SUBSCRIPTION TO *IN THESE TIMES* immediately. The Greta Rideout story (*ITT*, Jan. 10) was one of the most naive stories I have ever read, especially in light of the couple's recent and public reconciliation. Not only does it make *IN THESE TIMES* look bad, but smears the women's movement as well. It just shows how misleading the party line can be.

I have been a subscriber for more than a year and each issue has been progressively worse. I find the reporting slanted and/or confused, especially on the question of Israel. Obviously no one upstairs in the editorial department seems to realize that the Saudis are supporting the PLO. The 1948 war also seems to be a victim of selective forget (sic).

What started out as a fairly straightforward journal of socialist news and commentary has turned into a blind and trendy exercise in faddism. I wonder whether the editor in chief has something against professional, responsible

and objective journalism.

Give me the *Manchester Guardian* anytime.

—David G. Walley  
New York

## WOMEN AT MEMPHIS

**H**AVING HEARD THAT TWO PETITIONS supporting controversial ERA and abortion issues had been circulated at the Democratic Midterm Convention, and had been denied debate on the floor, allegedly for lack of sufficient signatures, I looked in John Judis' report of the convention (*ITT*, Dec. 20, 1978) for further information.

Unfortunately, one would conclude from reading his account that, aside from some polite applause at Carter's mention of the ERA, feminists and feminist issues were neither seen nor heard. The absence of any mention of these petitions, whose disallowance is now apparently being investigated, disturbs me not only because I want to know more, but also because it reinforces a stereotypical structure that a socialist paper cannot afford to leave unchallenged: one that relegates politics to the boys and culture and feminism to the girls.

—Kate Ellis  
New York

**Editor's Note:** We did know about the women's caucus activity, but John Judis was unable to attend the caucus meetings, so we assigned that story to a non-staff writer. Unfortunately, the story never materialized. We regret this and agree with Ellis' comments.

## PROPAGANDA?

**L**EE MARSH'S LETTER (*ITT*, JAN. 10) IS typical of Zionist propaganda that fills the American media. I'll answer these clichés in the reverse order: The European Nazi holocaust was the most recent, largest and most monstrous item in the history of persecution inflicted upon the Jews of Europe, by Europeans, in the Christian era. The only people to offer shelter and freedom of thought and religion for the persecuted Jewry of Europe were the Arabs. The flourishing of Jewish communities in Toledo and Seville during the days of splendor of the Umayyad Caliphate of Cordoba is a famous example. When Ferdinand and Isabella destroyed the caliphate and "the Cross supplanted the Crescent," the Jews fled renewed persecutions at the hands of Christian Europe and found safety and freedom in Algeria and North Africa.

If European Jews must now be repaid for over ten centuries of suffering, let Christian Europe foot the bill. If re-quittal for the German Nazi Holocaust is our concern, then the Ruhr, Baden-Wurtemberg and Bavaria are more appropriate stretches of land on which to build a Jewish state than Arab Palestine.

The Palestinian Arabs, having seen their ancestral homes and fields stolen by white European invaders, and being told, in essence, by the guilt-ridden Western establishment, to let the Jews establish an exclusivist state in which they, the Palestinians, would be aliens in their own land, have no alternative but to fight with their meager resources and the blood of their youth for the abolition of the viciously racist Zionist state.

The PLO fights a war with the Zionist state of Israel and does not, in any way, advocate the killing of Jews because of their being Jews.

Considering the enormous aggressiveness of Israel, its refusal to state clearly what its definite borders should be, its clinging to the expansionist concept of Eretz Israel, "from the Nile to the Euphrates," and last but certainly not least, its overwhelming military might, it seems that the Arab states' concerns over their own security is much more legitimate than Israel's.

The analysis and study of the strategic and economic requirements of British and U.S. imperialism, and the class nature of Zionism are actually more appropriate ways in which to explain and shed light on the Middle East conflict, so opposed to Lee Marsh's romantico-idealist

perception—*ITT* might well consider stopping the publication of such concepts, or, at the very least, give more than equal time to materialist interpretations.

—A. Michel Polizzi  
Philadelphia, Pa.

## IT AIN'T SO

**T**D. ALLMAN'S ARTICLE "NEWARK Defies Prophets of Doom" (*ITT*, Jan. 10) ignores many difficulties faced by the city in its battle for recovery. Allman omits reference to the August 1978 report of the Subcommittee on the City of the House Banking and Finance Committee, which concludes that among the 45 most populated cities of our nation Newark is the poorest judged by the existing social and economic needs of its people.

Allman's article is based on the questionable assumption that no city can recover from urban blight or from white flight to the suburbs unless action is taken to induce young and potentially affluent couples with no or few children to purchase city slum properties, gut them and then rebuild them for their own living. This has already happened in present day Georgetown area of our nation's capital, in the South End area of Boston, and in the Society Hill section of Philadelphia. In each case, the go-betweens are real estate developers anxious for the quick buck but little concerned about the fate of the displaced poor families. This brutal process of "gentrifying" the ghettos is well described by James David Besser and other outraged writers in the January 1979 issue of the *Progressive*. These new spruced up neighborhoods, asserts Besser, "please everyone except those who are pushed out."

While advocating a similar elitist form of so-called "urban renewal," Allman is silent about the disastrous effects on the people of Newark resulting from Carter's gradual but now highly perceptible withdrawal of federal funds from Newark and from the unwillingness of the New Jersey legislature to remove the annual 5 percent limit on the city's budget increases. The immediate result is that hundreds of city teachers, policemen, firemen, cafeteria and service employees have received their pink slips of dismissal. They are threatening a general strike.

Newark has gone a long way up since 1967. But it is ironic that *ITT* carries an article telling us that the New Jerusalem has arrived.

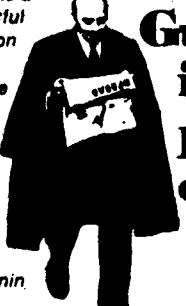
—David S. Burgess  
Upper Montclair, N.J.

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# DIALOG

## Marion Barry: the perils of leftists elected to office on their own

By Mike Berkowitz

**WHAT IS ONE TO MAKE OF MARION BARRY'S ELECTION AS Mayor of Washington, D.C.?** Jeff Henig (*ITT*, Jan. 2) tells us that Barry's victory offers significant insights, especially to progressives. Henig claims that people on the left seem to be greeting recent electoral victories with cynicism and self-restraint. This stand-offishness is decried as self-defeating because it robs progressives of the chance to claim a rightful victory and because it ultimately weakens radical influence on the shape of government. As a case study of this current leftist malaise, he offers us the D.C. election results.

To attempt to analyze this syndrome from the west coast may appear to be another long look from the left. But the California experience, and Berkeley in particular, may offer additional insights.

During the '70s some of California's best known radicals ran for political office: David Harris for Congress, Bobby Seale for Mayor of Oakland, and Tom Hayden for the Senate. In not succeeding they may have been luckier than Marion Barry. They did not have to face the perils of trying to implement progressive social policies.

Yet their campaigns did serve to educate and mobilize the left. And they opened up a dialogue that attempted to make businessmen and politicians accountable for their decisions.

### Left candidates and business.

One crucial difference between these candidates and that of Marion Barry was the

role of the business community. Hayden, Harris and Seale recognized a role for small scale capitalism and some sort of economic development, while attacking the evils of corporate wealth. None of them had wooed the type of support that lined up behind Barry: the prosperous merchants, realtors and bankers of Washington's Board of Trade and the legalized gambling lobby.

Seale was anathema to the business community of Oakland. Hayden and Harris were constantly red-baited. Barry, on the other hand, was attacked for being the "white man's candidate" because he courted the business interests.

This type of support would seem to justify casting a jaundiced eye on liberals and even progressives elected with the assistance of corporate contributions. The crucial test, however, is whether such electoral victories are actually converted into progressive administrations.

One wonders how many cities have had cases like that of Warren Widener, Berkeley's first black mayor. Widener won with the support of the city's left, but once in office he betrayed both the left and black communities by voting against social programs, rent rebates and election reform.

If the test of whether support should be given to a candidate is in performance, the left has good reason to be leery of Barry. His 13-member transition team has talked about bringing into government people who would show a new commitment to D.C. According to them, the key position in running the city's billion-dollar budget and 44,000-person staff is that of City Administrator.

### Roger's Berkeley record.

To fill this crucial post, Barry has selected Elijah Rogers, Berkeley's current City Manager. If, as Jeff Henig claims, progressives should not have been wary of Barry before, now it would seem like there exists genuine cause for apprehension.

Rogers succeeded to City Manager of Berkeley in 1976. His administration bucked the popular struggle for low income housing by undermining rent control and demolishing serviceable older houses in order to promote industrial development. After Rogers said that his staff would remain neutral on Berkeley's 1976 rent control initiative, City Attorney Michael Lawson—Roger's hand-picked successor as City Manager—sabotaged the initiative with a statement to the press inaccurately proclaiming that it would cost the taxpayers a million dollars to administer it.

As far as working conditions go, Washington's huge bureaucracy may have quite a surprise coming. Berkeley had, like Washington has, a more or less decentralized civil service with different departments located near or within the communities they served, so that government

was visible and perhaps a little more accountable.

Under Rogers the government was centralized in a formidable and expensive municipal building. Both citizens and government workers alike have been critical of this move. Morale has been further lowered by the installation of time clocks which, although not increasing productivity or even punctuality, have at least made civil servants aware that the distinction between "professionals" and "workers" is often quite arbitrary.

Florence McDonald, Berkeley's auditor and president of the city's Community Action Project for the poor, believes that Rogers was not the best choice for Washington's City Administrator, because there are so many poor people in D.C. Because of this issue other Berkeley progressives contacted Barry to urge him not to appoint Rogers.

Berkeley had established a nationwide reputation and served as a model because of the quality of social services available to low income citizens. It was one of the few cities with its own public health department, having enabled it to qualify for millions of dollars in grants and services.

Its grassroots free clinics, projects for the disabled, youth programs, free food, clothing, shelter, counseling and drug programs have provided services at a lower cost to more people than any official bureaucracy could hope or afford to deliver.

### In the wake of Prop. 13.

Yet under Rogers, administrative funds for services have been slashed so that social service centers have had to close their doors. The manager is currently attempting to phase out the city's health department.

Instead of reacting to California's Proposition 13 with a creative commitment to serving the poor, Rogers chose to shortchange those most vulnerable. He recommended to the city council that federal poverty funds be used to try to cover up for the withdrawal of city funding. Although federal officials declared that this use of grant money violated federal law, other grants which could have been used to serve the poor were rejected or channeled in different directions.

If Rogers' tenure in Berkeley did not

help the poor, it has benefitted the financial community. Under his administration special efforts, including the use of CETA monies, have been devoted to promoting business growth in Berkeley.

Arguably, new business generates new jobs. But this trickle-down strategy of economic development comes at the expense of services to those who most need them.

To his credit, Rogers emphasizes his commitment to development and change. To his debit, he has presided over conservative retrenchment. He expresses concern over problems of housing, health and community-police relations. Yet his interest is clearly in personnel management as he stresses systems analysis, completed staff work models, zero-based budgeting and assessment of personnel capability. From interviewing as well as from working with him, one comes away with the sense that Rogers is a skilled technocrat who can blithely disregard progressive issues.

Many of the same qualities which attracted radicals to Marion Barry probably attracted Barry to Elijah Rogers: youth, energy, intelligence and aggressiveness. As Rogers said of his talks with Barry, the two of them just clicked. Barry has repeatedly emphasized that his administration will be both competent and compassionate. He was probably at least half right in appointing Rogers—the man is competent. It is the missing piece—the compassion—that is worrisome.

In Berkeley, Rogers could attribute his performance to the need to follow the dictates of a moderate-to-conservative mayor and city council. In Washington he should have no such excuse. If his appointment is the harbinger of a pro-down-town, anti-poor administration, then progressives are better off outside than inside the government.

Until the Barry-Rogers team demonstrates that it deserves progressive support, people on the left are well-advised to withhold support and maintain pressure. Jeff Henig asks if anyone is watching Marion Barry's election. For the present, watching may be the best course of action.

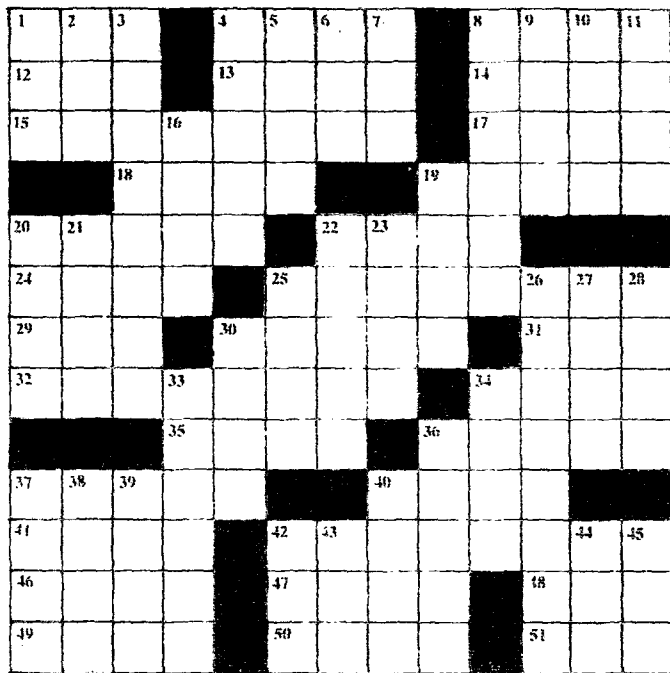
*Mike Berkowitz works with the Office of Employment and Community Program in Berkeley, Calif.*

### ACROSS

- 1 Seance sound
- 4 Emu's relative
- 8 Type of year
- 12 Hockey's Bobby
- 13 Ages
- 14 Napoleon slept there
- 15 May birthstones
- 17 Tavern orders
- 18 Assistant
- 19 Pests
- 20 Slopes
- 22 Armchair
- 24 Celestial bodies
- 25 Girl's best friend, often
- 29 Cal of song
- 30 Impudent
- 31 One, in Scotland
- 32 February birthstone
- 34 Suit to \_\_\_\_\_ (be perfect)
- 35 Blooming
- 36 Atonia compound
- 37 Boot fastener
- 40 Tito, for one
- 41 Cashier's stamp
- 42 September birthstone
- 46 Gaelic
- 47 Fairytale villain
- 48 Dickens' character
- 49 Stag's mate
- 50 "The \_\_\_\_\_ in the Band."
- 51 "I had to be \_\_\_\_\_"

### DOWN

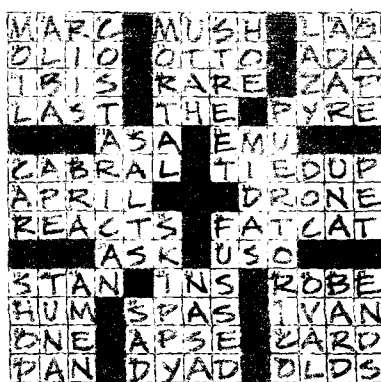
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- 8 Shed
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- 10 Help
- 11 \_\_\_\_\_ the buck
- 16 Tears
- 19 Raunchy
- 20 Artist Bonheur
- 21 Armenian name
- 22 Coward
- 23 Bridge position
- 25 Calendar units
- 26 Christmas
- 27 Ceased
- 28 Snick's partner
- 30 Buy
- 33 Merchant
- 34 Oriental governess
- 36 Mont Blanc etc., to the French
- 37 Violated highway law
- 38 Vetch
- 39 Awaken
- 40 Agile
- 42 Weep
- 43 Past
- 44 Grande, for example
- 45 Flightless bird



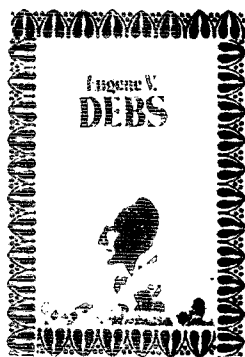
## All Sorts of Gems

By Jay Shepherd

Answer to previous puzzle



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# Oil wages

Continued from page 4.

the companies to pay the full cost of its health insurance, it was only able to increase the corporate contribution to maintain the present level of benefits.

OCAW president A.F. Grospiron had adamantly refused during the negotiations to take Carter's guidelines seriously, but eventually the union was forced to accept essentially the same level of pay that it had rejected earlier as insubstantial.

"We resolved that we would bargain as usual," Archuleta said, "regardless of the guidelines. But negotiations are two-sided, and in this case it was our side versus industry and government both. They attempted to persuade us to adhere to the guidelines, and we said, 'No, thanks.' But then the government went to industry, which is much more vulnerable to pressure. There's nothing they can do to us. We're a clean union, but they certainly were able to intimidate industry, and they found the companies were very willing to cooperate because it was in their own interest."

Since oil companies have a total of \$4.5 billion in contracts with the government, presumably Carter could have used the threat of withholding contracts from violators of the guidelines. In addition, oil companies may have been willing to use their compliance with the wage guidelines in order to win from Carter a promise of gasoline price deregulation. Ironically, such deregulation would drive up gasoline prices—by as much as a nickel a gallon, according to OCAW—whereas even doubling workers' wages would have added less than a penny to the cost of a gallon of gasoline.

## Involuntary controls.

"There's no doubt the guidelines had a diminishing effect on what we were able to negotiate," Archuleta said. Union officials believe that they had wide membership backing for a strike and came close to calling it on at least three occasions, but finally the National Oil Bargaining Policy Committee concluded that it was not likely to budge the oil companies—with their government support—even if they called a strike.

"We had the guidelines that were imposed by President Carter," said one member of the Committee, composed of eight elected regional representatives and four national officers. "There was no question the oil industry was going to comply. They made bargaining as such very difficult.... We almost had no choice—either that or strike the companies and the government."

Although he thought the guidelines were unfair to working people and was convinced that oil worker wages were not

causing inflation, the Committee member's comments indicated that he—like many other workers felt some obligation to restrain demands as part of a fight against inflation.

"We have met our obligation as citizens of the country under the guidelines," he said. "Now I'd like to see if Jimmy Carter sees that the oil companies live up to their end of trying to curb inflation in natural gas, oil, coal and everything else. Personally, I'd be willing to make a sacrifice to fight inflation.... But right now I think the burden's put on people who need help the most. We've got a union, but other people have nothing to help them out. Let the working people of this country see if the companies are going to live up to these standards as well."

Briefly it appeared that CWPS had opened a loophole that would permit workers to comply with the guidelines and still protect themselves against inflation over 7 percent. CWPS had approved a settlement of the Machinists with Pako Corporation of Minneapolis, which guaranteed workers wage increases of 8 percent the first year and 6 percent the second. In addition, workers would get a wage increase of 1 percent for every 1 percent increase over 6 percent in the consumer price index up to 10 percent.

Then CWPS backed down, since such a precedent would virtually make the guideline the base that every union would demand. Also, workers would be fully protected against inflation. Instead, CWPS explained that contracts with a flat wage increase could only include cost-of-living formulas that bring the total wage package up to 7 percent when the rate of inflation is 6 percent. Such formulas could permit total increases over 7 percent if inflation is greater than 6 percent, but they would not provide full protection against wage erosion.

The Pako plan had been seen as a privately contracted variant on Carter's "wage insurance," which would provide a tax rebate equal to 1 percent of worker's income for each percentage point inflation exceeded 7 percent (but only up to 10 percent and on income up to \$20,000) if they negotiated pay agreements that complied with the guidelines. Carter's plan seems to have little chance of passage.

Although the oil contract was never seen as a decisive showdown on the guidelines, since the union is not a traditional "pacesetter," there are signs that Carter and the corporations may be successful in holding down workers' wages during this year of many significant negotiations, even if the guidelines are trespassed here and there. At least one Teamster dissident analyst believes that even the critical Master Freight Agreement coming up at the end of March may be squeezed in under the guidelines if the union makes concessions on work rules in exchange for a bigger paycheck.



## Nicaragua

Continued from page 11.

far to the left of the program signed by the FAO and the Terceristas on Aug. 18, four days before the seizure of the National Palace, and the last offensive. That program stressed democratic rights; the MPU program emphasized economic reform. The three key demands of the MPU—agrarian reform, nationalization of Somoza's holdings and the banks and abolishing the National Guard as it now exists—contain the potential for opening a

social upheaval in that country.

It was fear of precisely these measures that led the U.S. to try to isolate the Terceristas from the Broad Opposition, in order to create a bourgeois alternative. In so doing, the U.S. came up with an abortive settlement, and with the start of new initiatives by the Sandinistas, that may make "Somozism with Somoza" an impossibility in Nicaragua.

Joel Geier and Candy Martin are members of International Socialists. Geier is national chairman of the organization. They have just returned from a trip to Nicaragua and Costa Rica, where most of the Nicaraguan exiles are now living.

## Khomeini interview

Continued from page 3.

mined to be dependent only on the results of its own struggles and efforts, and avoids pursuing only its appetites and wasting its material and spiritual resources, and follows the instructions and principles of Islam, which are in fact congruent with the nature of the human being, this nation will overcome its difficulties. And even more, we believe that such a nation would be able to help very effectively to solve international difficulties that the human

community is facing today.

*What is the American responsibility in the current situation in Iran?*

In the first place, the United States has to cease supporting the Shah and ask its military advisers to leave Iran, and recognize the sacred Islamic movement of the Iranian people. In that case, we will treat them on the basis of mutual respect, like any other government, and we will be ready to negotiate with them on various matters.

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## LIFE IN THE U.S.

## THE ARMY

## Politics of heroin for GIs, Germans

By E.N. Earley

**A**MERICAN TROOPS IN Germany are in trouble, and as a result, so are thousands of German civilians. Hundreds of young GIs are using illegal and dangerous drugs. They are turning on by blowing bowls (smoking hashish), dropping pills (amphetamines) and snorting or shooting heroin that is 20 times stronger than what American addicts can buy.

As recently as Nov. 12, the Army denied it had any serious drug problems in Europe. But the Army changed its story after a congressional subcommittee's 11-day fact-finding tour of U.S. bases in Germany, where most GIs in Europe are stationed. The trip was part of an investigation of drug abuse in the military by a subcommittee of the House Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse Control. Shortly after the tour, the Department of Defense issued an eight-part agreement signed by the DOD, the Army and Rep. Glenn English (D-OK), chairman of the House subcommittee.

In that agreement, the military admits for the first time that drug abuse in Europe among young troops has reached such a dangerous level that unless "immediate action is taken to contain" the problem, the ability of U.S. troops to fight is in grave jeopardy.

The document calls for tougher inspection and better treatment programs, for reduction of the availability of illegal drugs, and for shortening of tours of duty in Europe from two to three years for young GIs to 18 months.

On the first day of the tour, General George Blanchard, commander in chief, U.S. Army in Europe and the Seventh Army, assured the subcommittee that "this is no army of junkies."

He cited Army statistics, based on arrests, surveys and admissions to drug treatment programs, which indicated 7.5 percent of the 200,000 troops in Europe used hard drugs like heroin. The most frequent users, Blanchard said, were soldiers under 25. Of the 105,000 troops in that group, the Army estimates 12.5 percent use hard drugs and 31 percent smoke hashish.

But the subcommittee's finding showed double and sometimes triple the Army's figures.

Based on interviews with about 1000 soldiers chosen at random from a cross-section of bases, the subcommittee found 20 to 30 percent of soldiers age 25 and younger admitting frequent hard drug use and 80 to 90 percent admitting hashish use—often while on duty. If the subcommittee's figures are accurate, 26,250 of the 105,000 troops under age 25 are hard drug users and 84,000 soldiers use hashish regularly (at least twice a week).

The Army claims those figures are too high. It says the subcommittee picked its sample from the group that has the highest drug use—young soldiers—and is, therefore, a lopsided survey. The subcommittee, in turn, claims the Army's figures are based on guesswork. It claims officers are afraid to admit their units have drug users, because that might be seen as a failure in their leadership.

The Army and subcommittee do agree, however, that the problem is dangerous and apparently spreading.



"There are nine users in my unit now," an officer from the 317th Engineer Battalion near Frankfurt told the subcommittee. "That's not bad. There were 60 when I took over a year ago."

"I have 146 soldiers," said a commander of the famed Berlin Brigade, the cream of the American troops in Europe. "I know ten of them are using heroin and two of those men, in my opinion, are addicts. I believe 64 to 70 percent of my men smoke hashish regularly."

"Sure, I blow a bowl every once in a while on duty," confided a GI stationed at a Hawk Air Defense unit near the East German border. "I chip heroin (use on weekends) too because there ain't much else to do around here, but I still am a damn good soldier."

As a member of the Hawk unit, the soldier had a 24 hour emergency schedule. He would work 24 hours and then take off 24 hours. While on duty, he was expected to be ready for combat in two hours.

Gen. Joseph Means, who is responsible for Hawk units and all air defenses in Europe, says such confessions scare him.

"My troops must be ready for immed-

iate action," he said. "We are the first line of defense and when troops use drugs and alcohol they cannot be effective and alert. It frightens me to think that some soldiers in my command who are responsible for complex and dangerous weapons might be intoxicated or high."

Much of the data leading to the eight-part agreement came from testimony before the subcommittee during two days of hearings at Stuttgart.

**Too broke to go out.**

Two former drug addicts, who had not used drugs before they joined the Army and were sent here, painted a grim picture of the world of young GIs in Germany.

For many soldiers, this is the first overseas tour, the first two or three-year assignment away from home. But the exciting life in Europe promised them by recruiters never appears, the two GIs said. Instead, young soldiers grow homesick and depressed. They are surrounded by people who do not speak their language. And their paychecks have shrunk so much in value they can not afford a night on the town even at the sleazy bars—some of the only German nightclubs that will

accept GIs.

But drugs are cheap and plentiful. Many amphetamines are sold at drug stores without prescriptions.

At the hearings, an officer testified that 70 percent of the soldiers being recruited today admit they previously have used soft drugs such as marijuana while another 50 percent admit they have used drugs like heroin. Another officer revealed that once a soldier is caught using or selling drugs, he is referred to the Army's treatment program, but is not removed from his duty assignment unless he is a military policeman.

Sgt. Maj. Willie Brown, a 36-year Army veteran, told the subcommittee drug abuse is nothing new among soldiers.

"I had 14 heroin addicts under my command during Korea," he said. "They were unreliable, but nobody paid them much mind because they were black. Now it's a white problem too and everyone is upset."

**The Berlin connection.**

Not only American GIs but Germans who live within dealing distance of the soldiers have the heroin habit.

*Continued next page.*





## HEROIN

Continued from previous page.

Berlin has become a major heroin center, feeding a huge and growing number of German addicts, says the top U.S. drug agent here, Thomas Cash, narcotics attache from the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) to West Germany. "Dealers here aren't messing with quarter-pounds or hits," Cash says. "They're dealing in kilos—left and right—just like they were dime bags."

"It's amazing," Cash says. "Germany is where the States were 20 years ago. It's happening all over again, right before my eyes. Germany has a huge drug problem and it doesn't know what to do about it."

Officials here realized they had a major problem with drugs, mostly heroin, when the "Golden Shot" began appearing.

"The Germans are a very, very proud people," says Cash. "Even a German junkie has pride. When he realizes he is about finished, he makes one final score. Then he'll write a suicide note, perhaps talk about his life, and then take the final Golden Shot. He'll overdose."

Not all German junkies do away with themselves so dramatically, Cash admits, but enough junkies were either taking the Golden Shot or simply overdosing by accident to convince German officials a problem existed.

In 1975, Germany recorded 194 overdoses—31 in Berlin. One year later there were 337 overdoses with 87 in Berlin.

In 1974, German officials confiscated 31 kilos of heroin. An estimated 73 percent of the junk was headed out of the country. By late 1978, German officials had confiscated 172 kilos of heroin and they now believe 73 percent stays in the country.

### New routes for heroin.

Most heroin in the States used to come from the Golden Triangle—Thailand, Burma and Laos, Cash says. Rebels in the Shan Hills area used the opium poppy as a cash crop to support their fighting. (Alfred McCoy, in a 1972 book called *The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia* maintained that the CIA, following a French precedent, encouraged the tribe to grow poppies and guaranteed them access to the market in exchange for their loyalties.)

When pressure was applied to those markets [as American forces withdrew from Vietnam—ed.], new heroin suppliers emerged, Cash says. Opium started coming from the Silver Triangle—the Mideast. The U.S. again applied pressure—especially against the Turkish government.

The heroin started coming from Mexico—brown heroin. The active spraying program in Mexico killed many poppies, so once again a new supplier was needed. This time it came from an old source, the Mideast.

The Turkish government had banned poppy farming, but it now claims it needs the plants to make morphine. Cash and the DEA claim the heroin being shipped to Berlin is coming from Pakistan and Afghanistan into heroin labs in Turkey.

It could go to Italy or Austria over land routes, but that is risky—Berlin is not. When Berlin was divided into four sectors after World War II, the countries involved pledged that the city would always remain one city.

Great Britain, France and the U.S., leading from economic strength, kept that

# Homesick GIs abroad shoot dope

FRANKFURT

Clifford D. Rucker saw the U.S. Army as an answer to his prayers. He needed to learn a trade, he wanted to see the world, and the idea of defending his country appealed to him.

"I wanted to be somebody special," the blond-haired youth said. So as soon as he was eligible, Rucker signed up.

Within a few months, he was shooting up—heroin. Rucker became an addict with a \$180-a-day habit, a dope pusher who pressured young recruits into using drugs, and an alcoholic who drank nearly a quart of whiskey a day. Now, at age 18, Pfc. Rucker is a reformed Army junkie facing a court martial for drug smuggling. He was one of two former addicts who testified in November before a congressional subcommittee, chaired by Rep. Glenn English (D-OK), investigating drug abuse in the military.

"I became an addict," Rucker testified, "because no one really gave a damn."

He said he had never used drugs before joining the Army.

"The first day I walked into the barracks here [in Germany] a guy came up to me and said, 'Hey, do you get high?' I didn't say a thing and he just laughed. 'You will,' he said. 'You will.' He was right. The guys just kept buggin' me so I started smoking hash. Everyone was doing it. It weren't no big deal at all. There wasn't much to do around here. We couldn't afford nothin' so we sat in the barracks and bitched about the Army and got stoned."

Rucker said he got depressed one day so a friend gave him a hit of heroin which he snorted. He began "ice creaming"—using the drug on weekends. He also began drinking more and more.

"I'd drunk a quart of Jim Beam at night and even during the day I always had a can of beer in my hands. Nobody said nothing."

The Army gives periodic surprise urinalysis tests to discover if soldiers have been using hard drugs. The tests show whether a soldier has used hard drugs like heroin within 72 hours. Rucker says the tests are easy to beat.

"A non-commissioned officer is supposed to watch you [urinate]," he said. "Hell, the non-com that was watching me was a doper too."

There are other ways to pass the test. Soldiers sold safe urine to junkies and Rucker said he often had friends give

samples for him. If he had no other choice, he would doctor his own sample.

"The only test they run is for drugs, they don't test what's in the bottle," he explained. "Once I filled the thing with gasoline and no one ever knew the difference."

Rucker said he often smoked hashish, drank or was high on heroin while on duty at the 317th Engineer Battalion. He wasn't afraid of getting caught, he testified, but he was afraid of running out of money for his dope and booze.

"I needed cash so I started selling dope," he said. "It was cheap in Germany." He would buy a gram of heroin for \$130, divide it into 25 hits and sell it for \$20 per hit, bringing in \$500.

**The first day I walked in, a guy came up to me and said, 'Hey, do you get high?' I didn't say a thing, and he just laughed. 'You will,' he said.**

Rucker was caught and sent to the Army's drug control program for 60 days, but he says he continued using drugs while undergoing counseling. He beat the urine tests by using a friend's urine. He was finally arrested smuggling LSD across the West German border.

### Heroin for homesickness.

Pvt. Michael Jefferies is in the same battalion as Rucker. He never used drugs before he came here.

"We were sitting in the back of this truck going out for a drill the day after I got to Germany," Jefferies says, "and everyone was getting smashed on hashish, so I figured, why not join in? I got real homesick after that and a friend gave me a hit of heroin. It made me sick at first but then I got to liking it."

"It helped me get through all the bullshit you have to take. Pretty soon I wanted it every day. I never thought I was addicted, not even when my best friend died from an overdose. I'll never forget that, seeing him, seeing them carry him away dead."

Heroin users usually have no way of knowing how pure the drug they buy is. Heroin in Germany often is 30 to 50 percent pure while heroin in the States is 3 to 4 percent pure, according to the

Drug Enforcement Administration. The heroin often is too strong even for addicts.

"I've seen junkies dead with the needle still in their arms after shooting up with a hot load," says DEA agent Bob Stutman, who traveled with the House subcommittee.

Jefferies was caught when an officer demanded that he take the urinalysis test in front of him. The test showed he had been using hard drugs while on duty. (The Army does not give tests to determine if soldiers use hashish.)

Gen. George Blanchard, commander in chief of the U.S. Army in Europe, told the subcommittee that soldiers turn to drugs because of peer pressure, loneliness and boredom. Blanchard said some bases have one gymnasium for 14,000 troops. Craft shops often have no supplies. Many outposts are far from recreation spots for soldiers. Many German nightclubs refuse memberships to GIs. Old SS compounds built by Hitler for World War II serve as barracks for many of the GIs. Nazi swastikas still decorate the walls and floors.

But the biggest problem is the availability of drugs—especially heroin, Blanchard said. Heroin hits cost \$20 here, less than a night on the town or a prostitute. In the States, stuff of comparable purity would cost \$180.

The Army is making some changes. At Rucker's and Jefferies' base, for instance, Lt. Gen. Sidney Berry has promoted group tours, intramural sports and community-Army base activities. He also has allowed a former alcoholic to open the first narcotics anonymous chapter on a U.S. base in Europe.

At one command, English met a GI who claimed he had entered the Army by lying, at the prompting of the recruiter.

"I had a police record," he said. "I had been busted in Colorado for having a pound and a half of grass on me and for selling dope."

"I told the recruiter, but he said, 'Look, do you want to join the service or don't you?'"

"I figured I could straighten myself out here, but the first day I hit camp, a guy asked me if I wanted a hit. When you need bread you try to be the first one to turn on a new recruit. You become their first friend. I said sure I'd take a hit. I hadn't been in Germany an hour and I was already dealing."

"This is better than the streets." ■

—E.N. Earley

(©1979 Pacific News Service)

promise. The Russians, however, built the Berlin Wall. The U.S. refuses to recognize East Berlin as a separate city. If it did so, U.S. troops would lose the right to move in and out of the East Berlin section at will, as they do now, and the original agreement would be void.

Therefore, there are no U.S. customs searches when travelers cross from East Berlin into West Berlin, Peter Smeler, deputy political adviser to Germany, explains.

Berlin has 85,000 Turkish workers, police say. There are an estimated 20,000 Turks here illegally.

"The Turks can fly cheaper on Russian airlines from East Berlin to Turkey, so they use Schoenfeld Airport in East Berlin," Smeler explains. If there are any custom checks there, Cash says, he has never heard of them.

Oklahoma Democratic Rep. Glenn English claims huge amounts of heroin are brought into Germany by Turkish workers via East Germany and East Berlin.

He says the East Germans do nothing about it because they know the drugs are destined in part for U.S. troops. He claims 1100 pounds of heroin moved through East Germany into West Berlin last year. Another 6000 pounds was smuggled into West Germany from East Germany, he says.

In late November, English became the first U.S. Representative to meet with East Berlin officials. They denied there was any conspiracy aimed at supplying GIs with heroin and claimed they were

doing their best to stop illegal drug trafficking. English gave the East Germans the names of 50 known drug traffickers, selected by the DEA, who use the Schoenfeld Airport-West Berlin route. The officials said they would examine the situation.

The East Germans were more cooperative than the West Germans, English says. "They [West German officials] said it was an American problem," he says. "It wasn't until we threatened them by saying we might have to close down U.S. bases here that they got interested."

Cash says the West Germans are still struggling to realize the "scope of the problem." Yet "all they have to do is go to a Berlin subway to see how bad it is here."

### German junkies.

The subways are filled with junkies. They gather in small groups to talk nervously, darting their bloodshot eyes back and forth, looking for police. Most are young. Their clothes are unkempt. And their faces look tired. There are two easy ways to pick them out if you can't tell by their looks, Cash explained during a quick subway tour.

"Watch who doesn't get on the subway, or watch who is sweating." A chilly breeze swept through the subway everytime a train whistled through, but the junkies were sweating huge drops.

Cash questioned one woman who apparently was high. Her eyes—puffy and

red—were half closed. Her speech was slurred, her hands swollen and covered with sores. She could barely stand.

She said she had shot up two hours ago. She was at the peak of the high.

"How much was she shooting?"

One and a half grams. "That's the worst I've ever heard," Cash said. "Purity here is 40 to 60 percent. She's using enough to send 20 or 30 American junkies sky high."

Her habit cost about \$48,000 per year. She made the money as a hooker, she said. She used to charge \$30 per trick, but now she charges only \$10. Prostitution is legal in Germany and competition keeps prices down. Her condition forced her to lower her prices even more.

She said she had been using heroin eight years.

"She won't be using it much longer," Cash said, as the woman smiled dreamily, weaving back and forth. "She's nearly dead now."

"I give her a few weeks, then I think she'll be ready for the Golden Shot." ■

E.N. Earley, Washington, D.C.-based correspondent for the *Tulsa Tribune*, accompanied Rep. Glenn English (D-OK) on a House subcommittee fact-finding tour of U.S. bases in Germany, investigating drug abuse. The subcommittee's report, now complete, is expected to play an important role in the growing debate over re-instituting the draft.

(©1979 Pacific News Service)



## ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

## FILM



Donald Sutherland (left) runs from the bodysnatchers from space; Leonard Nimoy (right) calms a woman whose husband has been transformed.

## Pods return as house plants

INVASION OF THE BODY-SNATCHERS (United Artists)

By Pat Aufderheide

He used to be a small-town C.F. who made house calls. Now he's a harassed health inspector with no clout, glumly hunting rat turds in French restaurant bouillabaisse. They used to live in a little Our Town where trellises dressed front lawns. Now they drape their ferns in the windows of the urban brownstones. It's a new kind of people that attract the latest bodysnatchers.

The new *Invasion of the Body-Snatchers* (United Artists) is a fast-moving, scary-fun hit; Pauline Kael even called it a new classic. The 1956 version is, of course, a cult classic. The horror of both those excellent American films is built on paranoia, the most fashionable chronic disease of the postwar era. And they both are windows on the fears of their different times.

The approach of both versions is the same, but in the new one both the social setting and the threat are altered to achieve an equally effective horror. In both films, the filmmakers chose a romantic American lifestyle myth (in one, the small-town life; in the other, the good life in the trendy city) with a will to show its weak side. Both do so deliciously well.

But in 1956 an entire small town, and—metaphorically—a whole culture, was both at stake and at fault. In 1978, however, only individual identity is left to lose, along with fragile, informal alliances; and the menace is a totalitarian group identity.

The story remains the same. Seeds from outer space with the capacity to take the form of any life land on earth. Only a handful of people recognize that others are turning into "pods." They resist, but it's hopeless. (The earlier version finally got a false-optimism ending, tacked on against director Don Siegel's objections.) The outsiders become the insiders, and they can do so because of weaknesses in the way the insiders live.

Some saw the original as inveighing against conformity in general, while others read it as an anti-communist tract pitting brain-washing aliens against good Americans. Siegel, known for his tough-guy individualism, claimed to condone conformists with "bodysnatchers" and said, "I think that the world is populated by pods, and I wanted to show them."

Director Philip Kaufman (who

also made *White Dawn*), producer Robert Solo and scriptwriter W.D. Richter have said they intended to make a film that raised some of the same issues that the original did. Solo says, "Today the premise of [the film] has taken on ramifications more pertinent and chilling than those of 20 years ago." And he is right when he says, "Unlike a lot of current space fantasies, *Invasion* is all firmly rooted on Earth. It's about our world and what happens to us."

This film makes sly and pointed references to its ancestor. It opens, for instance, with the earlier version's star, Kevin McCarthy, right where he left off in 1956, standing in the road screaming, "They're here!" But this time they get him. And old loner Don Siegel has a brief role as a pod-cabbie. This film, like its predecessor, ends with a coda; but instead of providing us with hope, it shows us that hero Donald Sutherland, too, has turned into a pod.

It's not just with in-jokes that the movie shows how times have changed. Throughout, both society and the pod presence are described differently in order to make the same paranoid point: that They are Us.

In the 1956 film, pods look and act very like the people they were before. It seems an idyllic small town; people call cops by their first names, sweethearts know each other from childhood, people do the same business every Saturday morning in the central square.

It's hard to detect the pod-people in time because they act just like us—almost. They attack family ties, though, by destroying individuality. A child cannot recognize its mother, nor a niece her uncle. The hero says he fears that as pods they will all become "evil and inhuman"—but he also claims that people do so anyway in the process of living. Pod-dom lies just under the surface of daily life, when "we harden our hearts."

These days there is no social unit, only a slice of a class, the single and young-people professionals of San Francisco. They have the best of stereos, go to Vail for the weekend, have good clothes, fashionable haircuts, brownstones, and tons of trendy plants symbolizing their natural lifestyle (and making them prey to the pod invasion).

They are dentists, civil servants and technicians. But they're not straight—they're a little off-beat or funky or, at the least, highly

stylized. The character of Jack Bellicec in the two movies shows the difference. In 1956 he's a small businessman with hobbies, who finds a pod on his billiard table. In 1978 he's a wild-eyed poet (Jeff Goldblum) who runs a mud bath. It burbles obscenely.

In this version, the two couples are an endearing group of friends, but they operate pretty much alone in a big city—they're already disconnected. Brooke Adams' lunkish husband pays more attention to the TV game through his earphones than he does to her.

Their psychiatry goes with their way of life. Analysis-huckster Leonard Nimoy gives on-the-spot one-time therapy, and he berates the confused people for finding "non-existent" bizarre behavior in their intimates, saying they are merely looking for a reason to "get out of relationships" because they are afraid of "taking responsibility."

Once, people slipped from a sickly-sweet Our Town kind of human society to pod-dom, and it chilled us with the similarity of Them to Us. These days people go from being chic careerist individuals to being tools of an Organization, and the horror is in how easily we can become the very different Them, the Organization (the Moonies, Jonestown, est).

Now we see the "alternative" pod lifestyle in detail. The zombies become conservative. They wear respectable and even fussy clothes. They march with a mission, looking sometimes like the Jehovah's Witness men come to call and sometimes like the pack of freaks you can run into at the airport. They loom not emotionless but obsessed, grim and methodical.

Vivid gimmicks show us how suddenly the ordinary can become evil. Daily life is streaked with ominous signs, from a cracked windshield to a suddenly-creepy electric buffer, to a sinister flower. The electronic sound track also plays with the sounds of daily life, distorting them into unearthly perversity.

The danger is still within in this *Invasion*, although the stimulus may be without. But times have changed. Don Siegel could both celebrate and sneer at the ties of convention and habit that bind together a small town. By 1978 those ties, for better or worse, no longer bind a horror movie together. The latest urban problem is, instead, cultist surrender. ■

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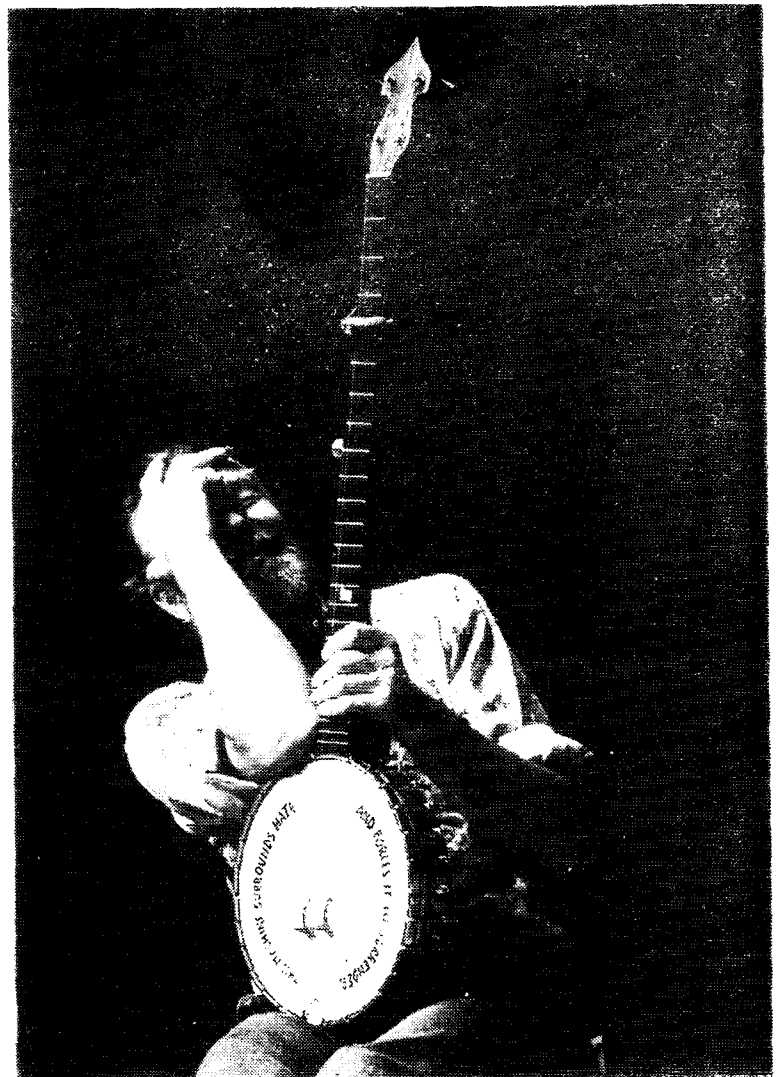
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# Short Notice



Cathal McConnell: beautiful music from one tin whistle

## Records

### ON LOUGH ERNE'S SHORE

Cathal McConnell (Flying Fish Records)  
Cathal McConnell (of Boys of the Lough) delightfully demonstrates how much beautiful music can be made from one little tin whistle. McConnell performs his unusual collection of traditional Irish songs, jigs and reels on flute, whistle, and vocals with his customary verve and finesse. **mg**

### JUST IN TIME

Justin Hines and the Dominoes (Mango Records)  
Sweet-sounding reggae, marred by bottom-heavy production and less-than-inspiring material. There's nothing here as good as the sprightly "Natty Takeover" on their 1976 release, *Jezebel*. **bd**

### TOTO

Toto (Columbia Records)  
Former back-up musicians for big shots (Box Scaggs, Steely Dan, etc.) step out on their own. Not surprisingly, their sound at various times recalls earlier associations. Toto's debut features a couple of catchy hooks and some likely hit singles, but however polished technically they may be, their music is both soulless and indistinctive. **bd**

### SPIRAL

Muhai Richard Abrams (Arista-Novus)  
Coming shortly after a disappointing, pretentious studio album, this solo concert recording reaffirms Abrams as a giant of modern piano. Fragments of ragtime, stride, bop and classical themes can be heard in his sprawling improvisations, which, despite

atonalities and angular leaps, unfold with a satisfying logic. **dr**

### GOOD OL' PERSONS

Good Ol' Persons (Bay Records)  
In this debut album by this almost all-women's bluegrass and old time band, their original compositions are uniformly excellent, delivered in a class three-part harmony. Barbara Mendlesohn's clawhammer banjo picking is outstanding. **msk**



Toshiko Akiyoshi and Lew Tabackin

### FINESSE

Toshiko Akiyoshi (Concord Jazz)  
That Akiyoshi is an excellent mainstream pianist has been obscured lately by her dominant role as composer, arranger and leader of the most exciting big band in jazz. This subtle trio session should rectify that. Rhapsodic standards and refined originals fully reveal Akiyoshi's encyclopedic style with its shades of Bud Powell, Ellington and Monk. **dr**

### SUNLIGHT

Herbie Hancock (Columbia)  
Judging by this record, commercial success means the license to indulge in all the technological hardware a recording studio can offer, right down to synthesized vocals. Maybe the bucks from this overblown one-man show will free Herbie to continue his recent experimental return to serious acoustic jazz. **dr**

### DUAL NATURE

Lew Tabackin (Inner City)  
Also stepping out from his role as big band co-leader, Tabackin (Akiyoshi's husband) gets a chance to extend his dual instrumental talents on this splendid quartet album. Propelled by drummer Shelley Manne, the flute side swings with a polished classicism. And the full, warm tone and relentless melodic probing of Tabackin's tenor sax ranks him with the best in the Sonny Rollins, early-Coltrane tradition. **dr**

### NASHVILLE WEST

Nashville West (Sierra Briar Records)  
One of the very first bands to experiment with country rock sounds that have since become flat and overproduced. This unevenly recorded release of some early sessions captures some of the power of the genre. The historical roots of many bands, Gene Parsons, Gib Guilbeau and the late Clarence White, are often dazzling. If you like the old Flying Burrito Brothers... (Sierra Briar Records, 11312 Santa Monica Blvd., Suite 7, Los Angeles, CA 90025.) **msk**

### CITY AND TREE

Dave Fritz (Wild Eye)  
A fine, smooth sounding collection of guitar instrumentals, with two vocal cuts for balance, by this little-known West Coast musician. Fritz plays 12-string guitar in a style similar to that of Leo Kottke. Avoiding the sometimes heavy sound that can detract from the beauty of the instrument, Fritz plays with a feeling rooted in classical styles. All the music is original, and the album is the first on the new Wild Eye label, another in the growing number of small record distribu-

ters in the San Francisco Bay Area. (Wild Eye Records, P.O. Box 503, Oakland, CA 94604.) **es**

### LINES ON THE PAPER

Kate Wolf and The Wildwood  
Flower with The Cache Valley Drifters (Owl)  
Like her first album, northern California folk singer Kate Wolf's second was recorded live in a friend's living room. Like her first album, it contains more than one memorable song. "Everybody's Looking for the Same Thing," a lively topical tune about the signs and advertisements people post around stores and colleges, is already a hit on several local non-commercial radio stations. An *a capella* number, "The Lilac and the Apple" describes the fate of many unsuccessful settlers in the West through a conversation between two foreign plants left behind by the former residents. (Owl Records, P.O. Box 711, Sebastopol, CA 95472.) **es**

### FIRST LIGHT

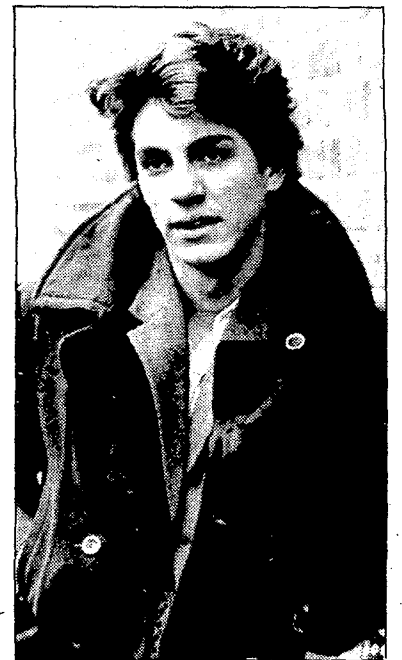
Richard & Linda Thompson (Chrysalis)  
The master of British folk-intro-rock, ex-Fairport Conventioner Richard Thompson creates another original lp full of mournful, magnificent music. Thompson writes strikingly contemporary lyrics for his traditional-style melodies, then builds on the effect with an unlikely blend of folk and rock instruments—including hammer dulcimer, button accordion, synthesizer, and lots of guitar. Add Linda Thompson's bittersweet, heart-wrenching vocals and album credits reading like who's who in British folk, and you've got an album which will please folkies and rockers alike. **mg**

## Video

### IN THE MIDST OF PLENTY

UCV, Studio A, Rarig, U of Minneapolis, Mpls MN 55455  
This one-hour videotape exposes growth of rural poverty on a dwindling number of family farms in outwardly-prosperous Midwestern states. Producers Greg Pratt and Jim Gambone follow the large Kellen family as they struggle to establish a small dairy farm in the face of low farm prices, high food and medical costs, and banks that repeatedly refuse them loans. It suffers from slow pacing, and from a cumbersome narration that smothers the Kellens themselves; its personal

approach provides little opportunity for analysis of the impact of corporate farms. But it pointedly reveals the inadequacies of urban-oriented welfare policies (which treat farm vehicles as luxury second cars) and it documents the entrapment of the rural poor. **bw**



Eric Roberts: recognize him?

## Movies

### KING OF THE GYPSIES

Paramount  
Disappointing as schlock. Frank Pierson, who brought you the last *A Star Is Born*, confirms his directorial incompetence in a gypsy story that gives almost no information on the living Romany culture. The plot wanders blindly before blowing up in a burst of violence. Paramount had dedicated \$1.5 million just to make star Eric Roberts (who looks like a cross-clone of John Travolta and Robbie Benson) familiar. A better vehicle would have helped. **pa**

### BRASS TARGET

(United Artists)  
The movie is the TV teaser at length, and it's headed straight for early-hour television. Everyone's teeth stay permanently clenched; Patton (George Kennedy) growls through his, while villain Robert Vaughan hisses. The audience sighs. One's sympathy for John Cassavetes, Max von Sydow and Sophia Loren, stuck in dreadful roles, fades by midpoint. **pa**

Contributors: Myrna Greenfield, Bruce Dancis, Derk Richardson, Michael Kimmel, Ed Schoenfeld, Bill Warren, Pat Aufderheide.

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## TELEVISION

# Taxi mixes comedy and drama in solid working-class sitcom

By Albert Auster

When *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* was in its heyday a reporter asked Ed Asner (Lou Grant) if he ever got tired of his role, Asner answered, "We never get bored around here. The scripts are too good." The reason was the two electronic Neil Simons who wrote the show, James L. Brooks and Alan Burns. They not only created interesting characters (Mary, Lou, Ted Baxter) but also wrote some great lines: Mary: "I think you're asking a lot of personal questions you have no right to ask!" Lou: "You know, you've got spunk. I hate spunk."

MTM Enterprises has fallen on evil days recently and all its old standbys have either retired (*The MTM Show*, *The Bob Newhart Show*), been cancelled (*Rhoda*, *Phyllis*), or are barely hanging on (*The Lou Grant Show*, *The White Shadow*). This fall from grace may have something to do with the departure last year of Brooks and some other members of the MTM shop (Stan Daniels, David Davis and Ed Weinberger) to form their own production company.

The first venture of the Brooks group, the sitcom *Taxi*, is one of the few hits of the new TV season. *Taxi* has consistently rated among the top ten shows since the very beginning of the season. *Taxi* also returns Brooks to the urban milieu he first used to such good advantage in his late '60s Emmy Award winning program, *Room 222*. An anthology series about a black schoolteacher (Lloyd Haines), *Room 222* was a hit on ABC when the industry joke was

"If you wanted to end the war in Vietnam all you had to do was put it on ABC and it would be cancelled in 13 weeks."

Some of *Taxi*'s success comes from its being conveniently hampered between two other ABC hits—*Three's Company* and *Star Trek* and *Hutch*. It has other things going for it, like concentrating on people rather than punchlines and even nudging the workplace family format pioneered by Brooks at MTM along the road to a video version of working class solidarity.

Robert De Niro would never recognize the characters that populate the Sunshine Taxicab garage (a play on *Amos 'n' Andy*'s Fresh-Air Taxicab, Inc.). For instance, there is a woman, Elaine (Marilu Henner); a Rocky-type pug (Tony Danza); a Midwestern naïf John (Randall Carver); an aspiring actor whose last try-out was for the horse's part in *Equus* (Jeff Conaway); and an immigrant garage mechanic (Andy Kaufman), who speaks a dialect half Spanish-half Polish, and all nebbish ("Thanks you vebby mooch").

The elder statesman of the group is Emmy Award winner Judd Hirsch (*The Law*), who plays Alex Reiger. Alex is of some indeterminate—although, since he's played by Hirsch, Semitic—origin. While he is supposed to be the group's center of stability, and even likes his job (only heaven knows why), sometimes the zaniness catches his good sense off-duty.

All of this sounds as if *Taxi* is the *Mary Tyler Moore Show* gone cruising among the working class. However, Brooks and Co. have

made some significant adjustments to that old formula. For instance, they shifted the emphasis of the old MTM format away from the contrast between the good sense and cooperation of some of the workers (Mary, Murray, Lou) against the uncooperative, egotistical, or misguided worker (Ted, SueAnne) to the cooperation and even feelings of solidarity of the cabbies as opposed to the alienation and isolation of their noisy and hostile loudmouth boss, Louis DePalma (Danny DeVito).

De Palma is a runty Italian boss-dispatcher who sits above the drivers in a caged perch shouting out Scrooge-like commands like, "Don't pick up cripples," or making single entendre jokes and passes at Elaine. So far Louis hasn't been touched by TV's heart-of-gold syndrome, and unless the show gets a bout of the cutes he may continue to be someone you can actually dislike. Indeed, for the moment the cabbies either ignore or barely tolerate him.

Nevertheless, *Taxi* is not Odets. As a matter of fact, it most nearly resembles O'Neill in focusing on the characters' pipedreams of love, championship, stardom, and success rather than any of their political or economic problems (nobody mentions leasing or defective cabs here). However, it hasn't always played things only for laughs, either. For instance, on the very first show of the season the cabbies got together to drive Alex to a Miami reunion with a daughter he hadn't seen since she was born.

This warmedy (comedy-drama) approach has sometimes touched



Judd Hirsch as Alex picks up elderly passenger Ruth Gordon, a "Sugar Mama" who likes to take expensive taxi rides.

on some interesting themes. For example, in one episode John and his wife Suzanne (Ellen Regan)—a woman he married on impulse after one of the drivers told the shy John that a good line for picking up women was "Why waste time on preliminaries—let's get married"—have their first fight over who should quit work and let the other support them through college. Of course Alex saved the day with a loan so they can continue. By then the show had made the point that they couldn't go on because inflation had made it impossible for Suzanne's parents to subsidize them as they had in the past. And both John and Suzanne were equally adamant about staying in school.

The show has not produced a Travolta or Winkler type star, and a sense of a group has devel-

oped. Part of the credit here goes to Hirsch. He had already starred in an ill-fated NBC series (*Delvecchio*), and could have dominated the other younger and less experienced players. However, by constantly underplaying, Hirsch has allowed an ensemble effort to grow. This is a welcome change in a season where all the applause and hoopla have gone to *Mork and Mindy* and its star Robin Williams, whom the *New York Times* recently called "the comedian for the narcissistic late '70s." Hopefully, Brooks and Co. will continue producing the kind of shows that support the very opposite of *Mork*. If they do, someone ought to start thinking about giving them their own network.

Albert Auster is an editor of *Cineaste*.

## MUSIC

# Disco swamps radio audience

By Cary Baker

Disco now dominates the fiercely competitive airwaves in the nation's largest city. Disco records on the RSO label alone held the number one spot in the *Record World* album sales charts for 39 weeks last year. "Disco fashion" has become a viable commodity in the department stores and shopping malls. And disco has gained acceptability on television that rock'n'roll never attained in 20 years.

Matthew Clenott, program director of New York's top-rated WKTU, an FM station playing disco music around the clock, says, "When pop is at a peak period, the artist is at the forefront. In disco, unlike the dominant periods of rock, the producer is the star," he says.

Disco, indeed, is a producer's music, the product of state-of-the-art studios and hundreds of musicians whose names and faces are unknown, but whose music is lately inescapable. Like production forebear Phil Spector, the disco producer may literally control stables of vocalists and musicians, assembled to create an uptempo, happy and anonymous sound on command.

Clenott continues: "Whenever pop is at its peak of social consciousness, as in the time of Elvis, the Beatles and Woodstock, something was very offensive to some sectors, threatening the existing order. The people who get into it really like it. Now that's happening with disco, which is clearly more than a go-go. It's a social phenomenon."

Apparently so, if WKTU's latest Arbitron listenership rating is any indication. The station, owned by SJR Communications, a division of the San Juan Racing Association, switched to disco from what the broadcast industry calls "beautiful music" last July 24.

Market researchers predicted the station would secure a 5 or 6 percent share of the New York radio audience, healthy even when compared against traditional forerunner WABC-AM's 7 or 8. WABC, an ABC-owned "contemporary" (Top 40) station, has never been overtaken in the ratings by a music station, receiving a battle only from talk-oriented WOR-AM. An FM station has never dominated the ratings.

Until, that is, WKTU placed a staggering 11.3 cumulative, reportedly the first double-digit rating in New York history. WA-

BC finished a distant second with a 7.1 share, certainly no slouch as major market ratings go. But miraculously, disco WKTU managed to tip all the givens of the ratings system in its very first "book." All of the city's Top 40, AOR (album-oriented rock), black, country and news/talk stations looked sickly in comparison.

What is important about WKTU's sweep is the broad social range of its new listeners. On the quarter-hour, the station reaches an audience that is 63 percent core city and 37 percent suburban; 40 percent black, 34 percent white and 26 percent Latin. The format attracts men and women almost equally, dominating certain segments of 18-34 males and females at different times, though the age range of WKTU listeners spans pre-teens to late 40s. The station appeals to a variety of income and education brackets as well.

"There aren't too many classes of people we're not reaching," says Clenott. "Nobody anticipated anything like this."

## Who has more fun?

Cold, grating, unchanging—few disco people would deny the charges their music has faced



WKTU-FM program director Clenott discusses disco with marketing consultant Wanda Ramos.

from critics. But few feel the need to defend its merit. There is sales-proven "party music" and discos are temples for relieving the week's tensions. Of course disco is that, but rock fans claim their music cures the same ills, and that their "release" entails even greater abandon. Disco's proponents point to rock's abandon and defiant flamboyance as the bane of the music merchandising world, and an accoutrement of the '50s and '60s.

Rockers, in turn, boast their music as one of the enduring victories of the Movement and, for better or worse, the culmination of 20-odd years of development. No way, they claim, can disco's mechanized beat displace Jag-

ger's raspy sexuality or Springsteen's dramatic street sensibility. Rock and disco have not exactly proven the best of neighbors on the charts, especially now that disco has claimed as many as seven spots on *Billboard* magazine's Top 10 in an average week, the scant remainder divided between the Billy Joels and the Foreigners.

"We're an environment," Clenott says. "An environment people carry around on their transistor radios while walking through the Bronx, and one now heard in banks, dentists' offices and department stores, ones like Saks and Bloomingdales."

Cary Baker writes for *Billboard* magazine.



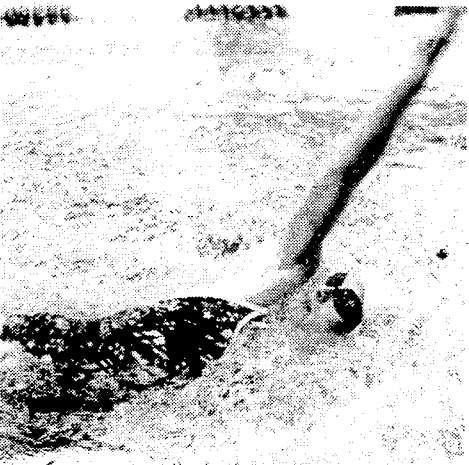


By Anita Diamant

On Sunday, Jan. 7, 150 women braved the snow and chill to swim up and down the five lanes of the Cambridge YWCA pool. That's an average day at the 15-year-old pool where it sometimes gets so crowded that women have to wait in line to use the damp, dark locker room and the crowded water.

Meanwhile, in a clean, well-lighted pool across the river, 250 of the world's finest swimmers were setting records at the Second Women's International Swim Meet. Women from 12 countries swam in 14 events at the two-day meet, hosted by Harvard University at the new Blodgett Pool.

The real competition was between the U.S. and German Democratic Republic teams. The East Germans had blown the U.S. team out of the water at the 1976 Montreal Olympics, apparently ending American domination of international swimming. But last summer at the World



Games in Berlin, the American team took nine of 14 events and restored parity to global competition. Although team standings weren't official at this meet, everyone was counting and the Germans walked off with seven first place awards. The U.S. won five.

American coaches and press agreed that the U.S. team would have done much better had the American Athletic Union let the baby superstars of the Berlin games come to play. Stephanie Elkins, Linda Jezel, Joan Pennington and Tracy Caulkins, winner of five gold medals in Berlin, haunted the U.S. team. The AAU suspended a dozen young swimmers for a variety of offenses. The big four violated a curfew regulation, which will keep them from representing the U.S. for three months. Cynthia Woodhead was also suspended but she chose to compete for her hometown swim club. The other four decided to pass.

The absence of those athletes made room for others who might not have had the chance to come. Marybeth Linzmeier, who won the 1650-yard freestyle, was right on the edge for this meet. With this win under her belt she figures as a world contender.

The Sunday night finals included a few superb races. The 200-yard freestyle between Barbara Krause of the GDR and Cindy Woodhead (U.S.A.) lived up to expectations. Woodhead had beaten Krause at the World Games, but this time Krause won it in 1:47:72. Her margin of victory was only .4 seconds and the two swim-

mers were only .1 second apart during most of the eight-lap race. (The entire meet was raced on the "short course," which means swimming the width instead of the length of the Olympic-sized pool.)

But the best was saved for last. A 400-medley relay team consists of four swimmers, each responsible for four laps (100

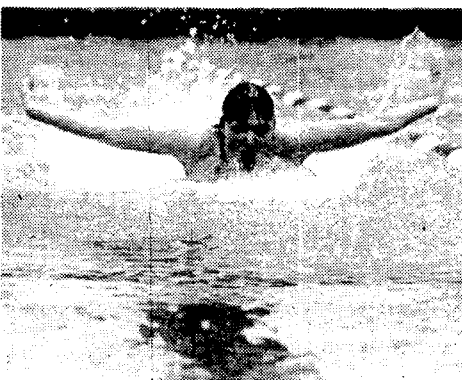
## DOIN' THE SWIM

Photographs by Peggy McMahon

yards) of one stroke. The U.S. and GDR "A" teams were locked in a battle for first place during the race while the two countries' "B" teams competed for third.

The U.S. team opened a small but substantial lead during the back and breast strokes but the East Germans gave them a run for it in the butterfly lap. By the final leg, the freestyle, the pool was echoing with cheers and hoots of encouragement. Barbara Krause started a few seconds behind Missy Gehan and gave chase, ending only .24 seconds behind Gehan and the U.S. winning time of 3:46:15. The GDR "B" team took third place, .77 seconds ahead of the U.S. "B" team.

Fewer than 100 people were in the stands at Blodgett pool on Sunday, and most of them were teammates, friends and parents of the swimmers. When a Bonnie Bell 10,000-meter road race



comes to town, hardly a weekend woman jogger (much less an amateur competitor) is unaware of the proceedings. And yet there has been a comparable boom in women's swimming. Between 1976 and 1977, pool use at the Cambridge YWCA increased by about 20 percent. The New England AAU (Amateur Athletic Union) now has 92 swimming clubs of at least 50 members each.

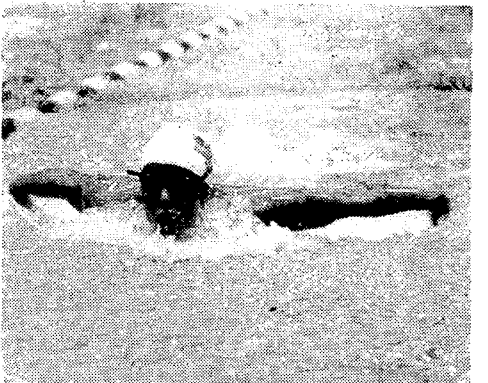
The Olympics has had a lot to do with swimming's rise in popularity, especially among youngsters. (The average age of last week's U.S. women's team was 16.) Children account for most of the AAU's growth, although there has also been an increased demand for competition among

older swimmers.

The New England master's program (for people 25 and older) runs two meets a month where women and men swim side by side, competing against their own best times. The program attracts both ex-competitors and people who never raced before. And though master's meets are advertised almost exclusively by word of mouth, last month's newsletter showed an increase of 35 new members.

Between the 15-year-old *wunderkinder* and the 25-plus masters, competitive women's swimming is about to change, or so said swimmers and coaches at poolside during the meet. It seems that the predominance of young teenage swimmers is less a physiological than a sociological phenomenon.

John Grady, who coaches a co-ed swim club in Ohio, said, "Having the time to train is critical. In high school there's



less time and different pressures. The young kids aren't bothered by sex-role pressures so much, but when they reach college, there's no incentives and a lot of pressure for women to stop. Now with the changes in scholarships for women swimmers, there's going to be a lot of older swimmers staying in competition longer." Size and strength count in swimming, especially at the turns, so there may well be a return of 20-year-olds to the ranks of world champions within the next five or ten years.

Recreational women's swimming is changing, too, and not only in terms of numbers. More women are swimming longer distances faster. But so far, participation hasn't translated into spectators. Coaches blame the lack of interest in competitive swimming on the lack of publicity given the sport. But swimming meets aren't easy watching.

It's hot, muggy and slow going. Some races are over in under a minute and time drags in between. The false starts are frustrating and the faces and personalities of the swimmers are barely discernable from the stands. Television has presented swimming in such short, edited and always spectacular-finish segments, that most spectators lack the patience to sit through the necessary lulls that swimmers fill up with card games, massages and "checking out the cute guys;" as one 17-year-old Californian put it.

Still, for the woman who swam her mile that Sunday at the Y, the sight of Marybeth Linzmeier finishing the 1650-yard freestyle (that's 66 widths) in 16:18:89 might be as inspirational as it was exciting. But for now, the distance from Montreal to Moscow seems shorter than the trip from Blodgett pool to the YMCA on Temple Street. ■